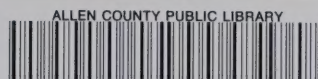


A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY
OF
THE DANBURG COMMUNITY
IN WILKES COUNTY, GEORGIA

By
Charles Danforth Saggus

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A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY
OF
THE DANBURG COMMUNITY IN WILKES COUNTY, GEORGIA

by
CHARLES DANFORTH SAGGUS

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of the University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment
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ERRATA

This edition of A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE DANBURG COMMUNITY IN WILKES COUNTY, GEORGIA is printed from a new typescript made from a faded xerox copy of a carbon copy of the original. There are limited typographical errors in the body that do and do not exist in the original thesis as presented to the History Faculty of the University of Georgia in 1951.

p. 156; footnote 20; for the only clear printing of this footnote see the original typescript thesis at the Library, University of Georgia, Athens.

The author advises of 3 corrections that involve errors in the original typed thesis at the University Library; these errors not identified at the time the original thesis was typed.

p. 158; lines 8-10; after the thesis was written, it was later determined that the \$75,000 was collected by Federal troops attempting to collect the stolen funds and temporarily stored at the hotel prior to being returned to Washington, Georgia.

p. 161; line 6; should read S. K. Wynn; S. A. Wynn may have been in the original document, however.

also; in the early pages of the thesis the name McClendon is spelled thusly; in later pages dealing with later years it is spelled McLendon; this change reflects what was often seen in the documents or printed records thereof.

also; the papers listed in the Bibliography as being in the hands of various members of the Sutton family have since 1988 been permanently deposited in the Archives of the Duke University Library where they are filed under the topic "The Walter L. Sutton Papers."
This includes letters, business ledgers and papers, legal documents, etc.

PREFACE

The problem became increasingly apparent as research for this paper progressed that the geographical limits of the Danburg community are not easily defined. I treated the community of pre-Revolutionary days as being that area near the junction of the Broad and Savannah Rivers. For the period after the Revolution, I set up Morris Creek, Fishing Creek and Hog's Fork Creek as the boundaries of the community. The county records of Wilkes County from 1847 through 1913 led me to consider the 178th Militia District as the geographical unit dominated by the little village during that period. None of these definitions were completely satisfactory or accurate. For example, the 178th Militia District served well for discussion purposes in the section on economic life; in discussing society in the community, however, it was necessary to consider portions of the 179th Militia District of Wilkes County and a section of Lincoln County as parts of the Danburg area. The first World War changed the community even as it changed the entire nation. For that reason, the years after 1914 form a separate chronicle that should be told elsewhere.

Any community, in reality, is formed by social and economic ties among people. In a sense, Danburg may be described as a state of mind. She exists wherever her sons and daughters yet retain memories of the locality and a feeling of friendship for their former neighbors. The spirit of Danburg countenances no physical limitations.

CHAPTER I

THE SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DANBURG COMMUNITY IN ANTE-BELLUM TIMES

The Piedmont plateau is that area between the ancient shoreline, now marked by falls or rapids in the rivers, and the line beyond which the mountains begin and the altitude rises above 1,500 feet. This great area stretches from New Jersey to Mississippi and it swings across central Georgia, embracing about one third of the state.¹ On the whole, the terrain of the Piedmont is uniform from Pennsylvania through Georgia. The rolling hills are broken by deep and narrow river valleys; the red clay loams were once largely covered by forests of hardwood, oak, hickory and short-leaf pine.²

The lower boundary of the Piedmont enters Georgia around Augusta. Less than one hundred miles above that point, the Broad River empties into the Savannah River. This area was part of that land ceded to the British government in 1773 by the Indians, in return for which the British agreed to pay debts by the Indians to George Galphin and other Georgia traders.³ Sir James Wright, then governor of the royal colony

¹ E. Morton Coulter, Georgia, A Short History (Chapel Hill, 1947), 3-4. Hereafter cited: Coulter, Georgia.

² James E. Callaway, The Early Settlement of Georgia (Athens, 1948), 4-5. Hereafter cited: Callaway, Settlement.

³ Coulter, Georgia. 99-100.

of Georgia, set up a court of land commissioners and empowered it to parcel out the land to settlers. He authorized that tracts of 100 to 1,000 acres be sold to each master or head of a family, 50 additional acres sold for each slave brought in or for each woman servant from the age of fifteen to forty. 4 The governor set up a system of land evaluation and directed that settlers should pay L10 per 100 acres. Single families were to be given from three to nine months to come in and settle their holdings. He ordered that a fort be erected at the conjunction of the Savannah and the Broad, then called the

Dart.⁵ Stated historian Charles C. Jones, Jr., Here Fort James was builded. Its stockade was an acre in extent. Within this inclosure were officers' quarters and barracks for the garrison, consisting of fifty rangers, well mounted, and armed each with a rifle, two dragoon pistols, a hanger, a powder-horn, a shot-pouch, and a tomahawk. In each angle of this square stockade was erected a block-house in which swivel guns were posted. These structures rose one story above the curtains, which were pierced for small arms. The stockade crowned a gentle eminence in the fork of the Savannah and Broad, equi-distant from those rivers and from the extreme point of land formed by their junction. On the peninsula above the fort was located the town of Dartmouth in honor of the earl whose influence had been exerted in persuading his majesty to favor the cession of this recently acquired territory.⁶

4 Charles C. Jones, Jr., The History of Georgia (Boston, 1883). II, 130-131. Hereafter cited: Jones, Georgia.

5 Grace G. Davidson, Early Records of Georgia: Wilkes County (Macon, 1932). I, 4-5. Hereafter cited: Davidson, Wilkes.

6 Jones, Georgia, II, 131-132.

To facilitate sale of the new lands, the land court was held here, in Savannah and in Augusta. 7

Almost every sale of this land was made to North or South Carolinians, and occasionally to a settler from Virginia, Pennsylvania or the West Indies. These farmers were distinctly a non-slave holding group for the most part: only thirteen applicants owned more than one Negro.⁸ Among these early settlers were Holman Freeman of Virginia who came with a wife, two sons and three daughters and established holdings on Chickasaw Creek and Richard Aycock of Virginia and his wife, four year old son and nine months old son whose 200 acre tract bordered on Freeman's. Later in the same month, September, 1773, James Aycock with his wife, four sons and one daughter took 200 acres on the south side of the Broad River, while Joseph Freeman, his wife and three daughters purchased 200 acres at Coody's Spring on Broad River. In October, 1773, John Herd of South Carolina bought 150 acres on a branch of Fishing Creek while George Herd of South Carolina purchased 100 acres next to John's holding. Charles Herd of South Carolina took up 200 acres on the head of Fishing Creek in December, 1773 while William Herd of North Carolina purchased 100 acres on the north Fork of Fishing Creek, George and William Herd were single men while John had a wife and five month old son and

7 Jones, Georgia, II, 131-132.

8 Callaway, Settlement, 66.

Charles had a wife, two and a daughter. Jacob McClendon of North Carolina with a wife, four sons and four daughters purchased holdings on Fishing Creek in October, 1774. George Freeman of Virginia with a wife and one slave bought 100 acres in the same month. Jacob McClendon, Jr. of North Carolina took up 100 acres on Mtchel's Creek, a branch of Fishing Creek, in the early part of 1775 and brought with him a wife and one slave. Isaac McClendon of North Carolina at the same time purchased 300 acres on Fishing Creek at Hooper's Spring and brought with him a wife and four slaves. Among the men who took up claims in this general area at this time were Elijah Clarke and John Dooly.⁹

The Revolution terminated British distribution of the land and the next wave of settlers did not come until around 1784. This second group came principally from Virginia and was of a higher type than the earlier settlers. They came for several reasons; they were familiar with the land, having previously lived in the Piedmont of Virginia or Pennsylvania; the new republican government in Georgia began to fulfill its war-time promise to give lands to Revolutionary soldiers; it was discovered that this land was suitable for the cultivation of tobacco.¹⁰

⁹ Davidson, Wilkes, I, 6-28.

¹⁰ Callaway, Settlement, 71-72.

The revolutionary government had abolished the old royal parishes and established counties in their place during the war. In 1777 the Patriots had created Wilkes County from the ceded lands about the Broad and Savannah.¹¹ By 1785 this area offered settlers a stable local and state government and cheap land that would produce a profitable staple crop, tobacco. By 1785 the real settlement of the county and the Danburg community had begun.

THE EARLY PLANTATIONS

The Danburg community is surrounded by water on three sides. It is bounded by Morris Creek on the southeast, Newford Creek on the northwest and Mill, or Sims Creek and Hog's Fork Creek, headwaters of Fishing Creek, on the southwest. The North Carolinians who came in the early 1770's drove herds of cattle with them in their migration and they naturally desired to take up claims on creeks such as these in order to provide water for themselves and their livestock.¹²

The Virginians and Carolinians who poured into this area before and after the Revolution were pioneer farmers rather than planters.¹³ The farms that these settlers established

¹¹ Coulter, Georgia, 150.

¹² George R. Gilmer, Sketches of Some of the First Settlers of Upper Georgia.... (New York, 1854), 177. Hereafter cited: Gilmer, Georgians.

¹³ Callaway, Settlement. 122.

along the creeks are indicative of the pioneer quality of the immigration. Out of seven land grants on Morris Creek between 1785 and 1798, one was under 99 acres, five between 100 and 200 acres, one 350 acres and one 600 acres. Out of thirty-seven grants on Newford Creek between 1784 and 1831, four were under 99 acres, thirteen 100 to 200 acres, eighteen 201 to 500 acres and two over 500 acres. The typical holding was from 200 to 350 acres and apparently such a holding was usually the entire amount of land owned by an individual. John Apling, Jeremiah Cloud, Nathaniel Moss, William Pool, William Stubblefield, James Hinton, William Bostick, Jarvis Seal and Anthony Seal were among those who held such grants. The outstanding exception was Richard Aycock who acquired at least 2,675 acres along various creeks in the area between 1785 and 1805. Jacob McClendon extended his hold over at least 1,490 acres, partly on Fishing Creek; Jacob McClendon Jr., acquired around 500 acres on Fishing Creek and Isaac McClendon gathered at least 750 acres into his hands.¹⁴ The tax returns of Wilkes County for 1792 shows twenty five holdings up to 200 acres, twenty-two from 201 to 500 and only seven of over 500. At this time Sanders Walker held 1,900 acres on Fishing Creek.¹⁵ The tax returns of

¹⁴ "Index to Land Grants of Wilkes County, 1784-1839," I, II, Hereafter cited: "Land Grants".

¹⁵ Ruth Blair, ed., Some Early Tax Digest of Georgia (Atlanta, 1926), 258-261. Hereafter cited: Blair, Tax Digest.

Wilkes county for 1794 show six holdings up to 200 acres on Newford Creek, two from 201 to 500 acres and two over 500 acres. The same returns show thirteen holdings up to 200 on Fishing Creek, nineteen of 201 to 500 and six of over 500 acres. In 1794 Nicholas Long held 4,025 acres on this Stream.¹⁶

In addition to lands secured by outright purchase, many of the early settlers received acreage by participating in the numerous land lotteries of the early nineteenth century. In 1802 the state obtained from the Creek Indians by a treaty at Fort Wilkinson that land which lay south of the Oconee and Altamaha Rivers and from which Wayne, Wilkinson and Baldwin counties were created. Every free white male of twenty-one years and upward who was an inhabitant of the state twelve months immediately preceeding the passage of this act and who had paid a tax was entitled to one draw; every free white male having a wife and one or more legitimate children was entitled to two draws; all widows having legitimate child or children was entitled to two draws; all orphans having no parents living were entitled to two draws. No mention was made of military service in this act. The lots consisted of 490 acres in Wayne and 202 1/2 in Wilkinson and Baldwin. Under this act Dennis McClendon was given two draws, Isaac McClendon two draws, Jacob McClendon two

¹⁶ Ibid. , 291-315.

draws, Lewis McClendon two draws and James Hinton two draws.¹⁷ In 1805 the state obtained additional territory from the Creek Indians under a treaty at Washington; this land was added to Baldwin and Wilkinson counties and parceled out in a similar lottery in 1806.¹⁸ These land lotteries laid the foundation of the scattered holdings of many ante-bellum planters who owned plantations in widely separated sections of Georgia.

The North Carolinians drove their cattle before them into this area.¹⁹ They found the country admirably suited to stock-raising;²⁰ the creeks provided ample water and the fertile land abounded with grass. The cattle were allowed to roam at will but a bell placed on the leader of the herd enabled the smaller children to locate them without great difficulty. Moreover, the cattle brands were used by Georgians at this time;²¹ thereby one's cows could be identified in a community herd. John Anderson's estate included 5 heifers, 2 cows and 2 calves, which were sold in 1811 for \$56.99.²²

17 Davidson, Wilkes, I, 299-319.

18 Ibid, 320.

19 Gilmer, Georgians, 177.

20 G. G. Smith, The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People, 1732 to 1860 (Macon, 1900), 142. Hereafter cited: Smith, Georgia People.

21 Coulter, Georgia, 61.

22 "Inventory & Sales NN, 1811-1812" pp98-100. Records of Wilkes County, Georgia located at the county court house in Washington, Georgia. Hereafter cited: "Inventory-Sales, 1811-1812."

Jacob McClendon, Jr's estate included 7 cows and yearlings, 6 small steers and 2 small heifers, valued at \$120, when an inventory was made in 1799.²³ Jacob McClendon, Sr, left stocks of cattle to two of the five sons mentioned in his will, drawn up in 1791.²⁴ These cattle provided milk, meat and hides and were, hence, a vital factor in the lives of the early settlers of the Danburg community.

The fact that tobacco could be raised on this land about the Broad and Savannah Rivers had lured the settlers into the area. In addition, tobacco required painstaking cultivation; the small farmer with his children or a few slaves was better equipped to raise the leaf than the great planter. Furthermore, the tobacco could be shipped down the rivers to ports from whence it could be transported to markets throughout the world. No large tobacco plantations are indicated on the records of Wilkes County but tobacco was the economic factor which made this area lose its frontier character.²⁵ From the end of the Revolution to about 1800 tobacco ranked among the important exports from both South Carolina and Georgia. Apparently tobacco

²³ "Inventory LL, 1794-1806." pp 32-33. Records of Wilkes County, Georgia located at the county court house in Washington, Georgia. Hereafter cited: "Inventory, 1794-1806."

²⁴ "Will Book, 1792-1801." pp 41-44. Records of Wilkes County, Georgia located at the county court house in Washington, Georgia. Hereafter cited: "Wills, 1792-1801."

²⁵ "Inventory, 1794-1806," pp 32-33.

raising for export began around 1783; in that year 643 hogs-heads of it were shipped from Charleston; in 1784 2,680 hogs-heads were shipped out; the volume increased until it reached 9,646 in 1799, after which Charleston exports declined.

Tobacco exports from Savannah were probably smaller than from Charleston at all times.²⁶ Jacob McClendon, Sr. willed to his daughters, Jimmima, Laney, Penelope and Nancy, during the early 1790's L25 each, to be paid in tobacco at market price.²⁷ There were sold from the estate of Jacob McLendon, Jr. in 1799 589 pounds of tobacco at \$6.25 per hundred weight and 1,139 pounds of tobacco sold at \$5.25 per hundred weight. After charges were made for cooperage and inspection, \$87.43 1/4 was realized.²⁸

Although tobacco and cattle were the principle products of the first farms in this area they were not the only products of those farms. The skins of cattle killed for beef or by disease were placed in running streams until the hair could be slipped off; they were then put into troughs with bark until they became fit for manufacture.²⁹ It is possible

26. U.B. Phillips, A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt to 1860 (New York, 1908), 54. Hereafter cited: Phillips, Transportation.

27 "Wills, 1792-1801," pp41-44.

28 "Appraisals & Sales, 1806-1807," pp1-3. Records of Wilkes County, Georgia located in the county court house in Washington, Georgia. Hereafter cited: "Appraisals-Sales, 1806-1807."

29 Gilmer, Georgians, 178.

that this leather was sent to Charleston, Savannah or Augusta. Hogs, sheep and poultry were not to be had when the Carolinians first came into the area and they found it necessary to buy their bacon and wool in South Carolina when they had sufficient money to make purchases. 30 By 1799 Jacob McClendon Jr.'s estate included 9 head of sheep, 20 geese and 24 hogs;31 in 1811 John Anderson's estate included 4 sheep valued at \$9.06, additional sheep valued at \$10.12 and 24 hogs valued at \$30.00.32 The inventory of John Anderson's estate included 15 beer stands, on still of 137 gallons, 65 gallons of whiskey valued at \$.90 to \$.94 a gallon and 20 gallons of brandy. Certainly he must have raised the rye, corn or wheat necessary to make these beverages; the inventory shows that the estate included 24 1/2 bushels of wheat and 1,500 pounds of flour.33 There were in these inventories tools to be used in the manufacture of products from other crops. Jacob McClendon Jr.'s estate included a loom, a cotton wheel and a flax wheel;34 but his estate includes no raw flax or cotton.

30 Ibid. 177-178.

31 "Inventory, 1794-1806." pp 32-33.

32 "Inventory-Sales. 1811-1812." pp 98-100.

33 "Inventory-Sales, 1811-1812." pp 98-100.

34 "Appraisals-Sales, 1806-1807." pp 1-3.

Up to 1800 no cotton was grown for the market in Wilkes County;³⁵ since neither cotton nor flax were imported prior to 1812 ³⁶ it is likely that small amounts of each commodity were raised and consumed by each farm during this early period. After 1800 cotton was produced for the market in Wilkes County but the people living between Morris Creek and Newford Creek dd not apparently produce cotton in quantity until after 1812.

Before the War of 1812 only salt, sugar, spices, other light groceries, liquors and the lighter sort of manufactures were brought by quantity up the rivers into this area.³⁷ The local farms produced beef, pork, lamb, and fowl, wool, whiskey, beer and brandy. wheat, flour and probably other grains, milk, butter and lard, they had looms, cards, spinning wheels, cotton wheels and flax wheels upon which they could manufacture clothing, candle moulds with which they produced their candles³⁸ and they undoubtedly made their shoes from the leather they could produce. On the whole, these farmers must have been rather sturdy, individualistic and self-sufficient,

³⁵ Smith, Georgia People, 142.

³⁶ Phillips, Transportation, 66-67.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ "Appraisals-Sales, 1806-1807," pp 1-3; "Inventory-Sales, 1811-1812."

buying only luxuries and a few necessities with the money they derived from the sale of their tobacco.

The early settlers found the rolling hills and the creek and river bottoms covered with forests. They brought with them or soon purchased axes, hand saws, wedges, adzes and mattocks with which they could clear the land and begin to farm.³⁹ Some of the trees were used in building log homes and barns. Most of them were probably burned as soon as they had dried after being cut down. Plows and other implements were not plentiful; the inventory of John Anderson's estate in 1811 included only one hoe and one "Barshear plow;"⁴⁰ horses to pull the plows were not plentiful, but John McClendon, Jr. amassed a herd of 6 to pull his three plows, including one bay stud valued at \$400, a colt, 3 mares and two horses. His estate also included a wagon; however, wagons were not plentiful; apparently, and one would serve not only as a carrier of things but of the owner's family, too.⁴¹ More often, horses were used for land transportation, if one did not go afoot; his estate included only one saddle, indicating that the latter mode was the more common one around 1799. Jacob McClendon, Sr. had blacksmith tools for use on his horses

39 "Appraisals-Sales, 1806-1807." pp 1-3.

40 "Inventory-Sales, 1811-1812," pp 98-100.

41 "Inventory, 1794-1806," pp 32-33.

14

and he specified that these be given to his son, Dennis, at his death.⁴² Jacob McClendon, Jr's estate contained a reaping hook which could be used to harvest grains and a steelyard on which he could weigh his tobacco, cotton or wool.⁴³

THE BEGINNING OF THE SLAVE SYSTEM

The early settler could look to his family for labor. However, he often brought in slaves when he migrated into this area from the older states. As his holdings were developed he frequently found it necessary to purchase a few additional slaves. There were no slave holders in Wilkes County by the turn of the century owning over 30 Negroes.⁴⁴ By 1802, the average Wilkes slaveholder owned 7.48 slaves; 349 Wilkes citizens owned from 1 to 3, 291 planters in the county owned from 4 to 9, 130 owned from 10 to 19 and only 36 citizens owned from 20 to 49 slaves; the largest holding in Wilkes County was 45.⁴⁵ By 1811 the average holding had increased in the county to only 8.4; 383 Wilkes citizens owned from 10 to 19, 70 owned from 20 to 49, and 4 citizens owned over 50 slaves; the largest holding in the county

⁴² "Wills, 1792-1801," pp 41-44.

⁴³ "Inventory, 1794-1806," pp 32-33.

⁴⁴ Smith, Georgia People, 139.

⁴⁵ Ralph B. Flanders, Plantation Slavery in Georgia Chapel Hill, 1933, 70. Hereafter cited: Flanders, Slavery.

68. 46 The increase of slavery coincided with the development of the cotton plantation with its tremendous labor requirements. During the decade 1790-1800 the slave population increased 103 per cent in Georgia and 77.1 per cent the ten years following.⁴⁷ John Anderson's estate in 1811 included the following Negroes: a boy, Fill, valued at \$385, a boy, Joe, valued at \$220, a boy, James, valued at \$205, a boy, John, valued at \$360, a boy, Bill, valued at \$212, a girl, Ninny, worth \$205, Harriot and child, Sally, worth \$625, a girl, Calice, valued at \$502 and Mary and child, valued at \$601. 48 These eleven slaves had a total value of \$3,315. Jacob McClendon, Sr., bequeathed 8 Negro males and 3 Negro females in his will of the early 1790's.⁴⁹ The inventory of Jacob McClendon, Jr., estate in 1799 included the following Negroes: Peter, worth \$400, Dick, worth \$450, Abel, worth \$175, Beck, a woman, worth \$400, Fan, worth \$250, Fillis, worth \$225, Isabal, worth \$200, Dorcas, worth \$175, and Sall, worth \$80. 50 These 10 Negroes had a total value of \$2,755.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid, 62-63.

48 "Inventory-Sales, 1811-1812," pp 98-100.

49 "Wills, 1792-1801," pp 41-44.

50 "Inventory, 1794-1806," pp 32-33.

COMMERCE AND TRANSPORTATION IN THE EARLY DAYS

What commercial activity went on in this area during the early days was centered around the tobacco trade. A rigid inspection of the harvested plant was a necessity; hence, the tobacco crop was collected at various points in order that the inspectors might examine it. In 1786 Dionysius Oliver was authorized by the Legislature to erect a warehouse on his land between the Savannah and Broad Rivers for the storage and inspection of tobacco. Here arose the town of Petersburg, near the site of colonial Dartmouth. In 1797 Willam Watkins was authorized to establish a similar warehouse. In the zenith of its prosperity Petersburg boasted a distributing post-office, a market place, a newspaper, a town hall, several churches and not less than forty stores and warehouses. In 1802 town commissioners were appointed for the village. Most of the tobacco gathered at Petersburg was purchased on the spot by merchants and speculators who supplied the farmers' needs from their stocks. The tobacco was then shipped down the river to Augusta and Savannah. 51 In 1801 Petersburg contained about eighty residences and one hundred buildings.⁵² The coming of cotton

51 Charles C. Jones, Jr., Dead Towns of Georgia (Savannah, 1878), 234-238. Hereafter cited: Jones, Dead Towns.

52 Eliza A. Bowen, The Story of Wilkes County Georgia (Marietta, 1950), 126. Hereafter cited: Bowen, Wilkes.

destroyed Petersburg, for unlike tobacco, it could be shipped without inspection directly to Augusta and other Points.

The earliest settlers and the tobacco buyers were vitally concerned in getting the tobacco to markets in Augusta and Savannah. The fall line in the Savannah below Augusta sharply divided the river in relation to transportation. Below the fall line the river was much wider and deeper. Boats could navigate the lower Savannah without much difficulty and the introduction of steamboats made the lower Savannah a usable route for commerce.⁵³ The Savannah above Augusta was subject to great changes in volume and its rapid descent made navigation perilous.⁵⁴ Efforts to clear a channel in the upper Savannah were at first in the hands of the various localities bordering along the river. In 1799 the Legislature chartered a stock company to render the river navigable from Augusta to Petersburg and to collect tolls on the traffic but this company seems to have done no work at all.⁵⁵ Traffic was too light in volume before 1815 to make demands for expens-

⁵³ Phillips, Transportation, 11.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 118-119.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 64-65.

ive improvements in the river effective.⁵⁶

In addition to the rivers the early settlers used buffalo paths and Indian trails and, as time passed, roads were cleared to permit wagon traffic.⁵⁷ Roads were laid out by the Legislature but the local communities were required to maintain them. Commissioners appointed by the Legislature were given power to require labor from all male inhabitants of certain ages. The Legislature often set up a skeleton system of main roads and allowed local authorities to create subsidiary ones; maintenance of all these roads remained in the hands of local authorities throughout the period. Since these roads crossed creeks and rivers, it was essential that ferries and bridges be created. This, too, was the work of the Legislature before 1825. ⁵⁸ Carter's Ferry and Barksdale's Ferry were set up on the Savannah and Broad near Petersburg.⁵⁹ Between 1800 and 1812 stage lines were chartered between Augusta and Wilkes County and they were required to run at least one stage a week.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Phillips, Transportation, 66-67.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 11.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 59-61.

⁵⁹ Bowen, Wilkes, 52.

⁶⁰ Smith, Georgia people, 237.

Transportation was crude. The rivers were perilous, often swollen by flash floods or full of hidden snags and sand-bars. The roads were rough and crossed by many streams. Somehow, the sturdy farmers managed to market their tobacco in Savannah and Augusta and occasionally travel by foot, horse or wagon.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COTTON PLANTATIONS

Meanwhile, certain events occurred which changed the economic pattern of this area. In 1793 Eli Whitney had invented his cotton gin and by 1800 its influence was widely felt. At the same time England had perfected the machines necessary for the manufacture of the raw cotton into cotton textiles which she could sell cheaply throughout the world.⁶¹ Throughout the South the farmers and planters fell to work to supply the demands of the English manufacturers. Cotton was adapted to cultivation on either a large or small scale; therefore, the planter and the small farmer were both interested in its cultivation. The harvested crop could be stored indefinitely or hauled for many miles; the soil of middle Georgia was well suited for cotton cultivation; competition from other regions was negligible. Hence, the farmers between Newford and Morris Creeks found their moder-

⁶¹ Callaway, Settlement, 90-91.

ate holdings on the Piedmont plateau, nearly 100 miles from a major trade center, well suited to cotton farming in the early 1800's. Cotton brought high prices; they undoubtedly fell to planting it with great dispatch.⁶² The great period of expansion in the upland cotton belt was from 1801-1815; the area was rapidly settled; and the number of slaves increased.⁶³ Georgia produced 1,000 bales in 1791, 20,000 bales in 1800, 40,000 by 1810, 90,000 in 1821 and 150,000 in 1826 and was by the latter date the greatest cotton producing region in the world.⁶⁴

Cotton prices rose steadily after 1800; after a depression caused by the war of 1812, cotton climbed to \$.29 per pound in 1818. From 1818 to 1828 cotton prices declined, reaching \$.10 per pound in 1828. The 1830's witnessed a second period of prosperity; cotton went as high as \$.17 1/2 per pound in 1835. The 1840's were lean years of severe agricultural depression; cotton dropped to \$.05 1/2 per pound in 1845. The upward march was resumed around 1848 and through the 1850's cotton hovered around \$.11 per pound.⁶⁵

Naturally, the cotton farmers of Wilkes were anxious

⁶² Ibid. 89-90.

⁶³ Flanders, Slavery, 62-63.

⁶⁴ Coulter, Georgia, 266.

⁶⁵ Flanders, Slavery, 191.

to expand their production. Even when prices were low they would see financial relief in such expansion. Consequently, they attempted to increase their holdings. In addition, some of the soil had become exhausted by the earlier tobacco and cotton crops, although soil exhaustion did not become a major factor until around 1830.⁶⁶ The tax returns of 1858 for Wilkes County are the first complete set of returns available on the Danburg community for the ante-bellum period. These records show that there were 27 landowners reporting in the 178th Militia District of which Danburg was, by then, the principle community. In this set of returns 3 landowners held over 1,000 acres; 11 owned between 501 and 1,000 acres; 7 owned from 251 to 500 acres; 3 owned between 101 and 250 acres; only 3 owned 100 acres or less. Over half owned more than 500; less than one-fourth held under 251 acres.⁶⁷ By 1858 the farmer had about disappeared from the scene at Danburg. He had been replaced, however, by a planter with moderate holdings rather than by the baronial owner of thousands of acres.

Moses Sutton accumulated 1,020 acres by 1847; his holdings were reduced to 632 acres in 1852 but he owned 900

⁶⁶ Callaway, Settlement, 112.

⁶⁷ "Wilkes County Tax Digest, 1858," Records of Wilkes County, Georgia, located in the Wilkes County court house in Washington, Georgia. Hereafter cited: "Tax Digest-1858."

acres at his death in 1855; in 1858 his son held 1,000 for Mose's widow.⁶⁸ Edward R. Anderson held 3,360 in 1852, partly in the 179th Militia District and partly in the 178th Militia District; in addition, he owned 80 acres in Cherokee County.⁶⁹ Reuben Kendall held 1,400 in 1847 and 1,300 in 1858.⁷⁰ Daniel Shumate increased his holdings from 249 acres in 1847 to 1,100 acres in 1852.⁷¹ In 1847 Gibson Collins owned 318 acres in Wilkes.⁷² In 1852 Joseph Wheatley, Sr. farmed only 162 acres.⁷³ In 1858 D. H. Standard held 800 acres, M. L. Heard 847 acres and J. H. Walton 500 acres.⁷⁴ The resident of the 178th Militia District who seems to have been the biggest landowner in the ante-bellum

68 " Wilkes County Tax Digest, 1847." Records of Wilkes County, Georgia, located in the Wilkes County court house in Washington, Georgia. Hereafter cited: "Tax Digest, 1847." "Wilkes County Tax Digest, 1852." Records of Wilkes County, Georgia located in the county court house in Washington, Georgia. Hereafter cited: "Tax Digest-1852." "Journal YY, 1853-1860." pp 215-217. Records of Wilkes County, Georgia located in the county court house in Washington, Georgia. Hereafter cited: "Journal YY." "Tax digest-1858."

69 "Tax Digest-1852."

70 "Tax Digest-1847;" "Tax Digest-1858."

71 "Tax Digest-1847;" "Tax Digest-1852."

72 "Tax digest-1847."

73 "Tax Digest-1847."

74 "Tax Digest-1858."

period was R. T. Walton; in 1852 he owned 1,500 acres.⁷⁵ Samuel Danforth rarely held over a few hundred acres, as is indicated by the second volume of the index to Wilkes County deeds; in addition to that he owned, however, he held 140 acres as agent for Edward R. Anderson.⁷⁶

In 1852 there were 48 polls in the 178th Militia District. The residents of this district owned 14,232, of which 12,370 were in Wilkes County. Hence, distribution of the land would have given each poll 296.5 acres of the first amount or 257.7 of the latter amount. Moses Sutton, Daniel Shumate and R. T. Walton owned 3,242 acres of the 14,232; their holdings were 22.7 per cent of that amount and 26 per cent of the 12,370 acres owned in the county by citizens of the district.⁷⁷ In 1858 there were 39 polls in the district and the citizens owned 15,761 acres, 14,374 of it lying in the county. Distribution of the land in this case would have given each poll 404.1 acres of the total amount and 368.5 acres of the amount of county land owned by Danburgers. Moses Sutton, M. L. Heard, Reuben Kendall, John H. Walton and D. H. Standard owned 3,447 acres, 21.8 per cent

⁷⁵ "Tax Digest-1852."

⁷⁶ "Tax Digest-1847."

⁷⁷ "Tax Digest-1852."

of the total amount and 23.9 per cent of the acreage in the county owned by the citizens.⁷⁸

These men increased their holdings by purchasing land in Wilkes County or participating in the several land lotteries held by the state before 1840, thereby acquiring additional lands west of the Oconee River.⁷⁹ Edward R. Anderson, Thomas B. Danforth and Presley Aycock secured land in Carroll County in the lottery of 1827, as did Samuel Danforth and Presley Aycock in Lee County that year.⁸⁰ Widows, orphans and tax-payers were entitled to draws in these lotteries; Mary Southard Anderson, Widow of John Anderson, stated in her will, made in 1826, that she was "entitled to two draws in the contemplated land lottery," one in her own name as an individual widow and one as "the widow of my deceased husband, a Revolutionary soldier."⁸¹

It behooved the planters in the Danburg community to protect the fertility of their soil if they were to con-

78 "Tax Digest-1858."

79 "Coulter, Georgia, 219.

80 Martha Lou Houston, ed., Reprint of Official Register of Land Lottery of Georgia 1827. (Columbus, 1929), 45, 62, 65, 110, 161.

81 "Will Book HH, 1819-1836," p 26. Records of Wilkes County, Georgia in the county court house in Washington, Georgia. Hereafter cited: "Wills, 1819-1836."

tinue producing large cotton crops. By 1830 soil exhaustion had become a major problem in the upland cotton belt. Fortunately, advice on the preservation of land fertility was not lacking. As early as 1813 John Taylor of Carolina and James M. Garnett of Virginia explained the advantages to be derived from soil conservation. Virginia's Edmund Ruffin and his Farmer's Register, Baltimore's James Skinner and his American Farmer and J. D. B. Debow's Commercial Review of New Orleans encouraged better methods of agriculture. The Farmer's Gazette of Sparta was one of the first farm journals in Georgia; by 1860 James Camak was publishing the nearly twenty-year old Southern Cultivator in Augusta and William H. Chambers of Columbus was publishing Soil of the South. J. A. Turner of Putnam County edited the Cotton Planter's Manual and published the Plantation, an agricultural quarterly.⁸² Prior to the construction of Georgia railroads, cotton seed served as the principal fertilizer; by the 1830's its use was rather widespread. Around 1858 the value of Peruvian guano as a fertilizer was discovered and the developing railroads throughout the state adopted a policy to stimulate the use of such guano and increase its importation and distribution over the several lines by charging reduced rates for freighting it. The old upland

82 Flanders, Slavery, 89.

cotton belt had been so rejuvenated by 1860 that some of the largest cotton producing counties were to be found there. Planters were forced to restore their lands after 1840 because it had become cheaper to do this than to remove westward.⁸³ "Make those Boys...Hand out the Manure-Let the cotton seed manure remain until I come home-." admonished Samuel Danforth.⁸⁴

Moses Sutton's estate produced 23 bales of "gin cotton" valued at \$690 in 1855.⁸⁵ S. G. Wheatley's estate in 1863 included 968 pounds of seed cotton worth \$150.⁸⁶ By 1850 Wilkes County was one of the fifteen counties in Georgia producing over 10,000 bales annually.⁸⁷

The herds of cattle brought in by the North Carolinians during the early days of settlement were expanded by natural increase and by additional purchases. The inventory of the estate of John R. Anderson, taken between 1812 and 1816, included between 7 and 11 cows, calves and

⁸³ Ibid., 92-93.

⁸⁴ MS. Letter, Samuel Danforth, Charleston, South Carolina, to Harriet Danforth, Danburg, Georgia, Mar. 21, 1835, in private possession.

⁸⁵ "Journal YY," 215-217.

⁸⁶ "Appraisals & Sales, 1860-1869," pp 280-283. . Records of Wilkes County in county court house in Washington, Georgia. Hereafter cited: "Appraisals-Sales, 1860-1869."

⁸⁷ Flanders, Slavery, 86.

yearlings.⁸⁸ In 1831 John Heard's estate included 36 head of cattle.⁸⁹ In 1855 Moses Sutton's estate consisted, in part, of 47 head of cattle;⁹⁰ during the same year Joseph Wheatley's estate included 5 cows and 6 calves, heifers and yearlings.⁹¹ Samuel G. Wheatley's estate included \$400 worth of cattle in 1863.⁹²

The citizens of the Danburg community expanded their herds of swine and sheep and their flocks of geese and poultry. John R. Anderson amassed around 40 hogs between 1812 and 1816.⁹³ John Heard had accumulated 42 head of stock hogs and 2 shoats, 17 sheep and 22 geese by 1831. ⁹⁴ In 1855 Moses Sutton's estate included 100 head of hogs, 31 sheep, 27 geese and 40 head of poultry.⁹⁵ In 1858 Edward R. Anderson's estate included 169 hogs and 74 sheep.⁹⁶

⁸⁸ "Wills, 1812-1816," p50.

⁸⁹ "Inventory, Appraisals & Sales, 1828-1831," pp 502-505. Records of Wilkes County located in county court house at Washington, Georgia. Hereafter cited: "Inventory-Appraisals-Sales, 1828-1831."

⁹⁰ "Journal YY," 215-217.

⁹¹ Ibid. 262-263.

⁹² "Appraisals-Sales, 1860-1869," p 37.

⁹³ "Wills, 1812-1816," p 50.

⁹⁴ "Inventory-Appraisals-Sales, 1828-1831," pp 502-505.

⁹⁵ "Journal YY," 215-217.

⁹⁶ Ibid. 367-394.

The expansion of land holdings compelled the local planters to increase the numbers of work animals they owned. John R. Anderson held 3 horses and 2 colts at the time of his death.⁹⁷ John Heard owned 4 horses in 1831.⁹⁸ Moses Sutton owned at least 9 horses when he died in 1855;⁹⁹ Joseph Wheatley owned only 2 horses at that time but he had expanded his acreage very little.¹⁰⁰ In addition, the planters used oxen to pull their plantation equipment. John Heard owned a yoke of steers in 1831, Moses Sutton owned two yoke in 1855 and Joseph Wheatley owned a yoke in addition to his two horses.

The family and slaves of a planter consumed much of the grain produced on the plantation, In addition, the planter was forced to raise additional grain in order to feed his livestock. John R. Anderson's estate included 12 barrels of corn and \$8.75 worth of fodder between 1812 and 1816.¹⁰¹ John Heard's estate in 1831 included 10 bushels of wheat, a crib of corn valued at \$150, 15 stacks of fodder, and a "pin of oats" worth \$18.¹⁰² In 1855 12,000

⁹⁷ "Wills, 1812-1816, p 50.

⁹⁸ "Inventory-Appraisals-Sales, 1828-1831," pp 502-505.

⁹⁹ "Journal YY," 215-217.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 262-263.

¹⁰¹ "Wills, 1812-1816." p 50.

¹⁰² "Inventory-Appraisals-Sales, 1828-1831," pp 502-505.

pounds of fodder, \$900 worth of corn, \$25 worth of oats, \$10 worth of wheat and 5 bushels of peas were included in Moses Sutton's estate; in addition, he had 40 bushels of potatoes on hand. 103 In 1863 S. G. Wheatley's estate included 10 bushels of wheat, 25 1/2 bushels of corn and 1,000 pounds of fodder. 104

The plantations in the Danburg community produced cotton, corn, wheat, oats, peas, fodder, beef, pork, lamb and fowl. Wheather or not these plantations were self-sufficient, however, must still be determined. As we have noted, the early settlers in this area found it necessary to buy their bacon and wool in South Carolina. This dependence on outside areas for certain commodities continued after the area had lost its pioneer status. The expanding cotton plantations of the Piedmont plateau required an increased number of mules for use in operating the increased holdings. Mules being an infertile stock, the supply required replenishment; many mules and horses were brought in to this area from Tennessee and Kentucky. The inventories of the estates of citizens residing in the Danburg community do not indicate that mules were extensively used there; but, in addition, the Tennesseans and Kentuckians drove in

103 "Journal YY," 215-217.

104 "Appraisals-Sales, 1860-1869," pp 280-283.

herds of cattle and hogs, wagons of cured meat and dried vegetables and peddled their wares as far down as the river towns.¹⁰⁵ Since the Danburgers had not amassed large numbers of these animals until the 1850's, it is quite likely that they purchased some of these out-of-state products; as late as the latter 1820's a traveller in this country observed that "South Carolina and Georgia will always have to depend on the West and the North for flour and meat, as they can raise neither the one nor the other, in sufficient quantities for their support. I saw but few hogs, no bullocks, and but a very few sheep.'"¹⁰⁶

On the other hand, an outstanding historian declares that "the self-sufficiency of the plantations, especially the smaller ones, has been underestimated, due to the dependence upon the accounts of travellers rather than plantation records."¹⁰⁷ The estate of John R. Anderson, inventoried between 1812 and 1816 included 2 large stills, valued at \$120, and 15 beer stands; in addition, it included 1,200 pounds of pork, 60 pounds of lard, and 5 bee hives.¹⁰⁸ The estate of Moses Sutton in 1855 included 7 bee hives, \$10

¹⁰⁵ Phillips, Transportatin, 68.

¹⁰⁶ Flanders, Slavery, 211.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 212.

¹⁰⁸ "Wills, 1812-1816," p 50.

worth of beeswax and tallow, a lot of soap valued at \$6, a lot of lard worth \$60 and 5,000 pounds of bacon.¹⁰⁹ Edward R. Anderson's estate in 1857-1858 included 3,000 pounds of bacon and 520 pounds of lard.¹¹⁰ In addition to these food-stuffs, Moses Sutton's estate included a stock of hides "in Tan," 2 cotton gins, spinnings wheels and looms and a set of blacksmith tools, a cotton gin, 10,000 shingles and 70,000 bricks. The estate of John Heard in 1831 included equipment for shearing sheep and cards, wheels and looms necessary in manufacturing the wool into fabric.¹¹¹

The cotton plantation required more and better equipment than the early farms had required. Edward R. Anderson's estate in the late 1850's included 2 wagons and 3 ox-carts, 94 "Plough Hoes", 30 "Weeding hoes" and 3 "Grubbing hoes," 7 scythes, a thrasher and 10 pair of plough gear. He had accumulated 3 yoke of oxen and 15 horses to pull this equipment. There was still land to be cleared and buildings to be kept in repair and for these purposes the estate contained 15 axes, 300 "lobs of nails," 4 wedges and, of course,

¹⁰⁹ "Journal YY," 215-217.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 367-394.

¹¹¹ "Inventory-Appraisals-Sales, 1828-1831," pp 502-505.

the many bricks and shingle theretofore mentioned.¹¹² In 1831, the estate of John Heard was composed of, in part, a lot of hoes, 18 ploughs, a lot of axes, a saw gin, wedges, augers, mattocks, adzes, chisels and gouges. ¹¹³

As the cotton plantation system spread over Georgia, the number of slaves held by Georgians steadily increased. By 1820 the average holding in Wilkes County amounted to 8.4 Negroes; in 1830 the average holding had increased to 10.8; in 1840 it equaled 11.7; the increase continued and by 1850 the average holding was 13 Negroes; in 1857 the average holding reached over 16. In 1857 129 citizens of the county owned between 1 and 3 slaves, 126 owned between 4 and 9 slaves, 95 owned from 10 to 19 slaves, 83 owned from 20 to 49 slaves, 31 owned from 50 to 99 Negroes and 5 owned 100 or more blacks.¹¹⁴ The tax returns for 1858 of the 178th Militia District in Wilkes County show that 16 citizens owned 5 or fewer Negroes, 4 owned from 6 to 10 blacks, 8 owned from 11 to 20 slaves, 5 owned from 21 to 50 slaves and 1 citizen owned over 50 Negroes.¹¹⁵ In 1852 there were 376 slaves in the 178th district; there being 48 polls in the

¹¹² "Journal YY," 367-394.

¹¹³ "Inventory-Appraisals-Sales, 1828-1831." pp 502-505.

¹¹⁴ Flanders, Slavery, 70.

¹¹⁵ "Tax Digest-1858."

district at that time, distribution of the slaves would give each poll 12 Negroes.¹¹⁶ In 1858, as shown by the tax returns for that year in Wilkes County, there were 422 slaves; divided among the 39 polls, the average holding would equal 10.8.

John R. Anderson had accumulated 6 Negroes by the time of his death between 1812 and 1816.¹¹⁷ John Heard held 13 Negroes in 1831.¹¹⁸ Moses Sutton owned 18 slaves in 1847, 25 in 1852 and 22 at the time of his death in 1855; his son held 14 slaves for Moses widow in 1858.¹¹⁹ In 1847 Reuben Kendall owned 28 slaves, Daniel Shumate owned 13 Negroes and Gibson Collins held 7 slaves.¹²⁰ Dr. John Hayes Walton owned 25 Negroes in 1852 and 30 in 1858.¹²¹ Reuben Kendall owned 30 blacks in 1852 and 34 in 1858.¹²² R. T. Walton owned 50 Negroes in 1852 and in 1858 was the largest

¹¹⁶ "Tax Digest-1852."

¹¹⁷ "Wills, 1812-1816." p 50.

¹¹⁸ "Inventory-Appraisals-Sales, 1828-1831," pp 502-505.

¹¹⁹ "Tax Digest-1847;" "Tax Digest-1852;" "Tax Digest-1858;" "Journal YY," 215-217.

¹²¹ "Tax Digest-1847."

¹²² "Tax Digest-1852;" "Tax Digest-1858."

slave holder in the 178th Militia District, owning 62 blacks at that date.¹²³ D. H. Standard owned 15 Negroes in 1852 and 17 in 1858.¹²⁴ Edward R. Anderson owned 44 slaves in 1858 and 54 at the time of his death in 1857.¹²⁵ Dr. W. D. Quinn owned 10 Negroes in 1852 while J. L. Moss owned 11 slaves at that time.¹²⁶ M.L. Heard owned 15 slaves in 1858.¹²⁷ Joseph Wheatley owned only 1 slave at the time of his death in the winter of 1854-1855.¹²⁸

These slaves provided the labor that raised the great crops of "white gold." Since they were generally inclined to be lazy if not properly directed in their activities, Georgia planters worked out a system of direction designed to prevent loss of working hours. If the planter himself could not personally oversee the work on his plantation, he hired an overseer to do this. To strengthen control over the black's work, the owner or overseer chose several of the more capable and intelligent slaves as drivers or foremen.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ "Tax Digest-1852;" "Journal YY," 411-424.

¹²⁶ "Tax Digest-1852."

¹²⁷ "Tax Digest-1858."

¹²⁸ "Journal YY," 262-263.

Each slave was classified as a full-hand, half-hand or quarter hand, depending on the amount of work he was physically fit to perform. These hands were then sent into the field under the direction of the drivers or foreman. Although the rice planters of the Georgia coast found it more convenient to employ the "tack system", wherein each slave was assigned a particular task, the upland cotton planters collected their slaves into "gangs" and worked these gangs as a unit on a specific assignment. This "gang system" left the individual slave with less free time; but in the free time that did remain to him, he was allowed to raise small crops of his own which he could sell to the master or exchange at local store-rooms.¹²⁹ Slaves represented a major investment of capital on every plantation. Their value was determined, to a large extent, by the price of cotton. The method used today by historians in computing the value of a prime male slave is to fix his value so that he brought \$100 on sale for every cent per pound that cotton brought. In 1837 middling upland cotton brought .13 1/2 on the New York exchange and a prime male slave was worth \$1,300. Following the trends in cotton prices, a prime male Negro brought \$1,000 by 1818; his value declined in the 1820's, but during the prosperous 1830's his value climbed to

¹²⁹ Flanders, Slavery, 142-146.

around \$1,300. During the distresses of the 1840's his value was again depressed but with the prosperity of the 1850's his value climbed well over \$1,200.¹³⁰ John R. Anderson's highest priced slave was Ceaser, worth \$350 during the period following the War of 1812.¹³¹ John Heard's man, Thornton, was valued at \$500 in 1831.¹³² In 1858 Moses Sutton's George and Lemuel were both valued at \$900 each.¹³³ Edward R. Anderson's estate in 1858 included Lewes, valued at \$1,460.¹³⁴ These figures were taken from the appraisals of estates. The estimates often under-valued the slaves and for that reason these prices are generally lower than those computed by current historians. In 1858 the 422 slaves in the 178th Militia District were worth \$216,210, being an average of about \$512 each.¹³⁵

The total value of Moses Sutton's estate in 1855 was \$28,593.¹⁸ 46.6% or \$13,375, was invested in Negroes; 16%, or \$4,750 was invested in land, 3.2% or \$934, was invested in livestock; 8.4% or \$2,413, consisted of foodstuffs and

¹³⁰ Ibid., 191.

¹³¹ "Wills, 1812-1816," p 50.

¹³² "Inventory-Appraisals-Sales, 1828-1831," pp 502-505.

¹³³ "Journal YY," 215-217.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 411-424.

¹³⁵ "Tax Digest-1858."

farm products on hand; 1.07% or \$316, was invested in equipment, household furnishings and an undivided interest in the "House & Lot".¹³⁶ Therefore, 75.27% of Moses Sutton's estate was invested capital; at the most, 24.73% or \$7,071.09 was in liquid assets. The tax digest of 1852 shows that Edward R. Anderson's property was valued at \$46,425. Of this, 43.4%, or \$20,160, was invested in land; 37.9%, or \$17,600 was invested in slaves; 1.7%, or \$800, was invested in stocks or in other business ventures; 2.7%, or \$1,275, was invested in other property; 13.9%, or \$6,490, was in the form of money or solvent debts.¹³⁷ The tax returns for the 178th Militia District of Wilkes County in 1858 show that the total value of property owned by citizens of this district was \$386,815; of this amount 55.8%, or \$216,210, was invested in slaves, 19.1%, or \$73,975, invested in land and 17.6%, or \$68,255, was in the form of money or solvent debts. Nine and three tenth per cent, or \$3,600, was invested in merchandise in the district.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ "Journal YY," 215-217.

¹³⁷ "Tax Digest-1852."

¹³⁸ "Tax Digest-1858."

COMMERCE AND TRANSPORTATION IN ANTE-BELLUM DAYS

The inability of the planter to make his plantation completely self-sufficient led to the development of commercial enterprises designed to satisfy the needs of the plantation which could not be satisfied thereon. Cotton was intricately woven into the relationship of the local planter to the local merchant. The planter bought goods from the merchant throughout the year, agreeing to pay him by January 1 of the next year, by which time the year's cotton crop would be gathered and ready for sale. Many of the "solvent debts" registered on the tax returns were probably such debts owed by the planters to the merchants of the community.¹³⁹

As the cotton plantations developed and prospered in this area, commercial prospects correspondingly increased. From Goshen, Lincoln County, Samuel Danforth wrote George Burdine on January 27, 1824 that "You no doubt have heard that I was married before I left which took place on the 17th at my Fathers and then proceeded with all possible expedition - our passage was very short- we suffered much from the sea sickness but arrived safe at this place on the 7th of Oct."¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Flanders, Slavery, 210-211.

¹⁴⁰ MS. Letter, Samuel Danforth, Goshen, Georgia, to George Burdine, Jan, 27, 1824, in private possession.

According to tradition, Samuel Danforth shortly thereafter saw the commercial possibilities of a point at which two roads crossed in an area of prosperous farms and plantations; there he purchased land and settled, founding the village of Danburg, named in honor of Samuel Danforth, its first settler. 141

Samuel Danforth was the outstanding merchant in the community during the ante-bellum period. He owned a farm of several hundred acres, but his store was apparently his chief concern. He offered for sale foodstuffs that were not produced in the community, like mackeral, and he supplemented the supply of various products not raised in quantity, like Irish potatoes and flour.¹⁴² He remarked that, "I made a bad Speculation in the Oranges - They are all gone - 1/2 of them Rotted - they will not keep in this climate."¹⁴³ In addition, he sold ready-made clothing,¹⁴⁴ some of which was purchased for the plantation of Edward R. Anderson. Also he laid in stocks of Irish linen and muslin from which the local ladies might manufacture their finer gowns. Manufactured articles

¹⁴¹ News Reporter (Washington, Georgia), May 1, 1925, p.1

¹⁴² MS. letter, Samuel Danforth, Charleston, South Carolina, to Harriet Danforth, Danburg, Georgia, Mar. 21, 1835, in private possession.

¹⁴³ MS. letter, Samuel Danforth, Danburg, Georgia, to Charles R. Danforth, Charleston, South Carolina, Dec. 23, 1843, in private possession.

¹⁴⁴ "Remanent Ledger of Samuel Danforth."

like fish hooks and hoes were also included in his stocks.¹⁴⁵

Most of the purchases in this store were probably made on credit. Payment was secured as the cotton crop was gathered in the fall. In December, 1843 Samuel Danforth wrote "I have done nothing yet in the way of collections but expect to do something in that way soon."¹⁴⁶ However, cash sales were not infrequent; "As regards Business I am glad to say that it has been pretty fair since you left. Saturday I sold about \$33 with Sunday about \$17 \$11.50 of which was cash."¹⁴⁷ Merchants like Danforth were often agents for local planters. These planters authorized the merchants to buy whatever articles were needed on the plantation. As the major portion of the planters' income was made when the cotton was gathered in the fall, it suited a planter to settle his accounts with the agent at that time of the year. Samuel Danforth served as agent for R. A. Toombs and E. R. Anderson in 1847.¹⁴⁸ His son wrote in 1844, "I thought

¹⁴⁵ MS. letter, Charles R. Danforth, Danburg, Georgia, to Samuel Danforth, Augusta, Georgia, May 14, 1844, in private possession.

¹⁴⁶ MS. letter, Samuel Danforth, Danburg, Georgia to Charles R. Danforth, Charleston, South Carolina, Dec. 23, 1843, in private possession.

¹⁴⁷ MS. letter, Charles R. Danforth, Danburg, Georgia to Samuel Danforth, Augusta, Georgia, May 14, 1844, in private possession.

¹⁴⁸ "Tax Digest-1847."

proper to ride up this morning and see ERA. He informed me that he thought it useless to write you as he had no further instructions to give more than he had previously given, he requested me however to say to you that he wished you to do as you thought best to act precisely as though you were acting for yourself."149

Samuel Danforth found it necessary to travel extensively in order to secure stock for his store. He made frequent trips to Augusta and Charleston. From Charleston, he wrote that he "arrived here yesterday about 2 O'clock P.M. and commenced my Purchases the Same day. Shall get through Tommorrow or nearly so. I could be ready to Start back Saturday but I must wait for Shumate. We shall leave here on Sunday Morning & expect to be a home on Tuesday Morning."150 Occasionally he was forced to go even further from home. "I am about to leave from Charleston for New York. It is now 3 o'clock & the Boat leaves at 4 I have had a safe passage to this place..... I reached here on 2 o'clock this morning The Engine got out of Repair or we should have reached here before night. I shall be home by the 15th April...."151

149 MS. letter, Charles R. Danforth, Danburg, Georgia, to Samuel Danforth, Augusta, Georgia, May 14, 1844, in private possession.

150 MS. letter, Samuel Danforth, Charleston, South Carolina, to Harriet Danforth, Danburg, Georgia, April 10, 1845, in private possession.

151 MS. letter, Samuel Danforth, Charleston, South Carolina, to Harriet Danforth, Danburg, Georgia, Mar. 21, 1835, in private possession.

His wife noted in 1843 that "Christmas is at hand I presume it will be very dull Your Father was in Augusta a week got home Monday bo't some very pretty goods & is kept very busy day & night first at the Store then at the gn house...."152

Merchants like Danforth were usually in debt to Northern manufacturers and merchants. Since the planters paid them in the fall, for the most part, the local merchants were consequently forced to buy their stocks on credit, paying the Northern factor for them after receiving payment from the planters.153 He complained, "I have got a Thousand Dollars to pay by the 15th Nov I hardly know how I shall make it out The Cotton is very backward I have Sent down but One Load...."154

Samuel Danforth was not the only merchant in the community during the ante-bellum period, however. Charles, his son, wrote, "You say nothing of your competition Mr. Shumate is he likely to succeed in Business or not? I ex-

152 MS. letter, Harriet Danforth, Danburg, Georgia, to Charles R. Danforth, Charleston, South Carolina, Dec. 21, 1843, in private possession.

153 Flanders, Slavery, 210-211.

154 MS. letter, Samuel Danforth, Danburg, Georgia, to Harriet Danforth, Schaghticoke, N. Y., Oct. 26, 1831, in private possession.

pect you have not much to dread from him."¹⁵⁵ In 1852 Samuel Danforth held \$4,000 worth of merchandise as agent for Edward R. Anderson; in that year John Collin's merchandise was valued at \$900, John L. Anderson's at \$850, while James Taliaferro held \$2,500 for Barkesdale & Co.¹⁵⁶

These merchants were not the only entrepreneurs in the community. There were several mills in the area that produced flour and corn meal. The principal one of these was Edward R. Anderson's mill on Hog's Fork Branch of Fishinf Creek, which he purchased from the estate of John Anderson, his grandfather, in 1828 for \$4,030.¹⁵⁷ Samuel Danforth maintained a blacksmith shop in connection with his store though he, of course, did not run the shop.¹⁵⁸ Edward R. Anderson owned a shoe manufactory in connection with his plantation and undoubtedly supplied the entire community with footwear. In 1858 an inventory of the stock of the manufactory included "89 Pair Coarse Shoes...8 Pair Coarse boots...46 Pair fine shoes...16 Pair Calk [sic] Skin...10 Pair Marveer Sides...388 Hides...25 Cords of Bark" shoe-

¹⁵⁵ MS. letter, Charles R. Danforth, Charleston, South Carolina, to Samuel Danforth, Danburg, Georgia, Jan. 20, 1844, in private possession.

¹⁵⁶ Tax Digest-1852."

¹⁵⁷ "Inventory-Appraisals-Sales, 1828-1831," p 40.

¹⁵⁸ "Remanent Ledger of Samuel Danforth."

makers tools, a bark mill, tanyard tools and "9 lbd 1853 Shoe Thrace."¹⁵⁹ Such enterprises created some financial activity in the community. Edward R. Anderson's estate included about \$10,000 worth of solvent and insolvent accounts owed the estate in 1858.¹⁶⁰ Money may have been scarce in this agricultural area. Samuel Danforth noted that he had "to go to Washington to day to get some United States Money ...;"¹⁶¹ but Willis H. Lyndsey had enough to invest \$400 in stocks or manufacturing capital in 1852 while J. M. Booker and Dr. John H. Walton both had \$800 invested in such ventures at that time.¹⁶² Dr. Walton's wife, Louisa Danforth Walton, operated a hotel at Danburg during the later ante-bellum period, thus reserving for women a share in the early commercial life of the village.

During the ante-bellum period, 1815-1860, the maintenance of the road system remained in the hands of the various localities, for the most part. In 1829 the Legislature provided for the purchase of able-bodied Negroes, 75

¹⁵⁹ "Journal YY," 367-394.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ MS. letter, Samuel Danforth, Danburg, Georgia, to Harriet Danforth, Schaghticoke, N. Y., October 26, 1831, in private possession.

¹⁶² "Tax Digest-1852."

of which were assigned to work on the Savannah River and the roads about Augusta and in 1833, with the development of agitation for railroads, the Legislature directed that these "public hands" be disposed of.¹⁶³ The state continued to develop the road system, however. In 1821, a turnpike was authorized from Augusta through Warrenton, Sparta and Milledgeville with a branch running to Washington. Private companies were encouraged to bid for the right to do the actual construction work but Georgia capitalists failed to accept the state's offers.¹⁶⁴ In 1817 the state set aside the sum of \$250,000 to be invested in securities, the interest from which was to be used for such internal improvements as the Legislature might choose and in 182 this fund was increased to \$500,000.¹⁶⁵ By 1834 there was turnpike running from Milledgeville to Petersburg and points north. Main stops for the stage line that ran over this road were at Sparta, Powelton, Washington and Danburg.¹⁶⁶

In 1818 Colonel Abraham Blanding of South Carolina stated that about two-thirds of the market crops in that state

¹⁶³ Phillips, Transportation, 114-115.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 106.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 103.

¹⁶⁶ An Accompaniment to Mitchell's Reference and Distance Map the United States.... (Philadelphia, 1834), 274.

were raised within five miles of some river and that the remainder was raised not more than ten miles from water which could be rendered navigable.¹⁶⁷ The upper Savannah remained perilous for river traffic. In 1817 the Legislature of Georgia gave \$20,000 to be used to aid navigation on the Savannah above Augusta.¹⁶⁸ The lower Savannah, less perilous for river traffic than the upper parts, was not completely satisfactory, for the long dry spells lowered the river level and made it impossible for the keel-bottom steamboats to pass up to Augusta.¹⁶⁹ Ocean-going vessels could go eighteen miles up the Savannah to within three miles of the city Savannah; large brigs could sail directly to the city. Steamboats of 150 tons could ascend the river to Augusta except in the seasons of low-water. Pole-boats of 10 tons could go from Augusta up the Savannah to the junction of the Tugalo and the Keowee rivers.¹⁷⁰ These poleboats were designed for traffic up the river above Augusta; they were keel-bottomed for better balancing and steering, pointed or rounded in the

167 Phillips, Transportation, 58.

168 Ibid., 103.

169 Ibid., 82.

170 Ibid., 122-123.

bow or stern for the sake of reduced resistance in the water and propelled upward by poles in the hands of Negro slaves, divided into gangs for starboard and port. "Cotton boxes" were designed to haul freight down the Savannah to Augusta or to Savannah. They were flat-bottomed boats with high sides. Even with heavy loads of cotton they were able to glide over many of the hidden impediments in the river. On arrival at their destination, they were usually broken up and sold for lumber; whatever cargo the planter wished to carry back was put on a pole-boat.¹⁷¹

The development of the new cotton lands in the southwestern part of the state where lands were fresh and fertile and the rivers abundant and deep caused a decline in the prosperity of the upland cotton belt. To check this decline it seemed necessary to lessen the cost of marketing; to do this a cheaper and more efficient method of transporting cotton to markets than by river boats must be devised.¹⁷² In 1833 a company was organized in Athens to build a railroad between Athens and Augusta and in 1841 the Georgia Railroad was finally completed between those two points.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 70-72

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Coulter, Georgia, 257-258.

In 1853 a branch line of eighteen miles was extended to Washington.¹⁷⁴ In 1833 a line had been constructed between Charleston, South Carolina and Hamburg, South Carolina, Opposite Augusta, and in 1854 railroad connections were completed between Augusta and Savannah. ¹⁷⁵ By 1954 the elitisens of the Danburg community sould haul their cotton to Washington and ship it from there by rail to Augusta, Savannah or Charleston. Rates on those roads depended on the "whims, animosites, or ambitions of the owners, and especially rates on freight might vary with the seasons, the weather, or the stages of water in rivers that might offer competition. Rates for passengers ran generally from three to four cents a mile, while slaves were charged two cents a mile."¹⁷⁶

174 Phillips, Tansportation, 223.

175 Coulter, Georgia, 257-259.

176 Ibid. 264.

CHAPTER II

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS AFTER THE WAR

The Civil War wrecked the economy of the Danburg community. In 1858, as we have seen, slaves constituted 55.8% of the invested wealth in the 178th Militia District. The war freed them and wiped this investment completely away. Furthermore, the arrival of peace and the subsequent re-establishment of Federal authority so demoralized the Negro that for several years thereafter he was most unsatisfactory as a source of labor. To him, freedom, unfortunately, often meant the right to remain idle and unproductive. By 1866 the Negro was neither valuable property nor reliable labor.

The whites still owned the land, however, and it became imperative to work out some sort of system between these landowners and the Negro laborers. On the one hand, the whites might break up their holdings and sell the Negroes land; on the other, the Negroes could simply hire their labor to the whites. Between these two systems an intermediate plan developed under which the blacks were allowed to work in family groups with a general absence of supervision while the whites retained ownership of the land. The whites provided the land, equipment and seed while the

Negroes provided the labor.¹ The whites often purchased these articles from local merchants on credit and gave mortgages on their land as security. Crop failure meant that the whites could not meet their obligation and many consequently lost part or all their land. In succeeding years such planters and other landless framers, too, were forced to rent land and secure equipment and supplies by giving the local merchants a lien on the anticipated crop.² The Negroes were not usually in debt to the merchants but the attempt to establish some sort of working arrangement between the ex-master and ex-slave led to the growth of tenant farming. By 1866 the tenant system was fairly widespread. For the Negroes, crop failure was disastrous in a different way. They knew little of money values and they tended to leave their jobs whenever they were financially able to do so; hence, payment for their labor generally consisted of a share in the crop which would come into their hands at the end of the harvest season. If a crop was not made, they had simply not realized an income during the preceding year.³ Many of the Negroes were retained by the whites as hired hands

1 c. Mildred Thompson, Reconstruction in Georgia... (New York, 1915, 79-90. Hereafter cited: Thompson, Reconstruction.

2 Francis B. Simkins, The South, Old and New (New York, 1947), 250-253. Hereafter cited: Simkins, South.

3 Thompson, Reconstruction, 74-80.

rather than as tenant farmers, particularly after conditions settled following the war and money became plentiful enough to pay cash wages. John L. Anderson hired 26 hands in 1868 and 250 hands in 1878; in 1868 D. H. Standard used 17 hands on his farm and Drewry J. Aycock employed 5; in 1878 John A. Sutton hired 18 hands, S. K. Wynn only 1 hand, John M. Booker, Sr. 9 hands, George W. Booker 5 hands, Edward D. Beard 1 hand, Alexander S. Anderson 7 hands, Zack W. Anderson 20 hand, Mark L. Heard 8 and the estate of D. H. Standard 3 hands.⁴

Dr. John H. Walton paid approximately \$1,730 in wages during 1870. In that year other paid wages as follows: Presley Aycock, \$225; S. K. Wynn, \$810; James W. Bellows, \$840; Edward D. Beard, \$620; Julia A. Anderson, widow of Edward R. Anderson, \$1,260; Mark L. Heard, \$600; John A. Sutton, \$1,400 in wages; John W. Booker, \$600; and John L. Anderson paid out a total of \$3,830.⁵ The Census of 1880 noted that Dr. Walton rented his land at that time and paid

⁴ "Wilkes County Tax Digest, 1868." Records of Wilkes county, Georgia located in the county court house in Washington, Georgia. Hereafter cited: "Tax Digest-1868." "Wilkes County Tax Digest, 1878." Records of Wilkes County, Georgia Hereafter cited: "Tax Digest-1878."

⁵ Ninth Census of the United States (1870); Wilkes County, Georgia, Agriculture, "1-19. On microfilm at the University of Georgia, library. Hereafter cited: "Census of 1870, Wilkes County."

only \$75 in wages. In 1880 S. K. Wynn paid \$125 in wages, Mark L. Heard paid only \$50, while John A. Sutton paid \$1,200 and John L. Anderson \$2,710.6 In each case the amount of wages paid in 1880 did not equal the amount paid ten years earlier. This might be partly due to changes in wages and price levels; it was certainly due, to some extent, on the growth and development of the tenant system.

By 1913 several Negroes had accumulated enough capital to purchase good size holding in the community. In that year G. W. McLendon owned 106 acres, and others owned as follows: Will Robertson, 75 acres; Ed Anderson, 154 acres; John Walton, 80 acres; Charles Sims, 56 and Kittie Bland, 18 acres; these blacks owned 489 of the 492 acres owned by the local Negroes at that time. However, ownership of land by the Negro farmer was still the exception and many continued to hire their labor to the whites. In 1913 Miss Pink Anderson hired 10 Negroes, and others hired as follows: Alexander S. Anderson, 17; John A. Sutton, 15; John M. Booker, 3; B. M. Walton, 5; D. S. Standard, 5 and J. H. Standard, 3.7 These

6 "Tenth Census of the United States (1880); Wilkes County, Georgia, Agriculture," 15-32. On microfilm at the University of Georgia library. Hereafter cited: "Census of 1880, Wilkes County."

7 "Wilkes County Tax Digest, 1913." Records of Wilkes County, Georgia, in county court house in Washington, Georgia. Hereafter cited: "Tax Digest-1913."

These Negroes were usually paid cash wages. When their seasonal tasks were ended, they were often hired out to other whites for wages so that they could maintain a continuous income. In the 1880's John A. Sutton remarked, "I never saw the like of Negroes looking for work I have had from 20 to 30 for the last two weeks getting cold wood and clearing land - they come from 6 to 10 miles around and want work...."⁸ By 1914 a few Negroes were landowners but the vast majority of them either farmed as tenants on land owned by Local whites or hired out their labor to the whites for wages; in several cases they did both.

THE PLANTATION SYSTEM IN THE POSTWAR YEARS

As we have seen, in 1858 the tax returns showed that over half of the landowners in the 178th Militia District owned more than 500 acres and less than a fourth owned under 251. At that time there were 27 landowners in the district. Ten years later, in 1868, there were still 27 landowners and 13 owned more than 500 acres. However, the number of landholders possessing less than 251 acres increased with the development of the intense labor problems and now approximately

⁸ Ms letter, John A. Sutton, Danburg, Georgia, to Walter L. Sutton, Atlanta, Georgia, August 14, 1883, in private possession.

a third of the owners held these smaller tracts.⁹ As the number of farms increased during the postwar period the proportion of small farms grew steadily.¹⁰

Year	Number of Farms	Size (in acres)				
		0-100:	101-250:	251-500:	501-1000:	1000-Up:
1878	55	36.3%	16.3%	25.4%	20%	1.8%
1888	52	36.5%	26.9%	13.4%	17.3%	5.7%
1904	77	41.6%	36.1%	9.7%	8.3%	4.1%
1913	66	39.3%	36.3%	10.6%	9.09%	4.5%

Several factors seem significant. Throughout the period over half the farms in the community were under 251 acres in size. The crest of the small farms movement seems to have been reached around 1904 when over 78% of the farms contained less than 251 acres. Thereafter, the number of larger farms increased. During the years after 1900 many of the citizens left the community, seeking employment in the surrounding towns and cities; moreover, the comparative agricultural prosperity of the late 1890's may have induced many farmers to expand their holdings, though this should

⁹"Tax Digest-1868."

¹⁰"Tax Digest-1878;" "Wilkes County Tax Digest, 1888." Records of Wilkes County, Georgia in county court house in Washington, Georgia. Hereafter cited: "Tax Digest-1888." "Wilkes County Tax Digest, 1904." Records of Wilkes County,

have been evident in the 1904 tax returns. On the other hand, it may have been the periodic agricultural depressions of the period 1900-1910 which led many of the farmers to increase their holdings in order to maintain a fairly steady income, for over the period of 1878-1913, the farms of 1,000 acres or more increased from 1.8% to 4.5%.

John L. Anderson was the principal landowner in the community during the postwar period. In 1868 he held 2,644 acres which increased to 3,920 by 1878 and to 4,000 acres by 1888. John A. Sutton held 280 acres in 1878, 1,700 in 1888, 2,645 in 1904 and 2,450 in 1913. Alexander S. Anderson owned 225 acres in 1878, 1,945 in 1888, 1,507 in 1904 and 457 in 1888, 188 in 1904 and had apparently ceased farming operations by 1913. In 1888 James W. Bellows owned 800 acres but by 1913 he had reduced his holdings to 200 acres. During this period Drewry Aycock's farm was reduced from 800 acres to 390. In 1878 John M. Booker, Sr. held 1,000 acres but his estate was divided among his several children after his death in 1891. In 1904 Richardson Booker held 185 acres, John M. Booker, Jr. 245, George Booker, 286 acres and Mrs. Ann Booker, 405 acres. Walter L. Sutton held 230 acres in 1904 and 748 in 1913. Thomas V. Heard owned 85 acres in 1904 and 131 acres in 1913. The tax returns of 1913 for the 178th Militia District show that J. H. Standard owned 370 acres at

that time, D. S. Standard, 441, W. N. Powell, 700, the estate of John D. Bunch, 200 acres, Oscar L. Fortson, 198 acres, Mrs. Sallie Booker Walton, 169 acres in addition to the 181 acres she held for her son, Simpson B. Walton, and Mr. W. T. Standard, 535 acres. Mrs. Fannie Heard Anderson held 740 acres as the widow of John L. Anderson in 1913, while her daughters, Miss Fannie Lou and Miss Pink, held 675 and 644 acres respectively.¹¹ Beyond the boundaries of the 178th District but lying in what can rightly be called the Danburg community were the farms of James W. Barksdale, Joseph F. Matthews, Sr. and J. N. Chennault who in 1870 held 375, 398 and 1,800 acres respectively in Lincoln County.¹² In 1880 Benjamin F. Barksdale held 910 acres in the 179th Militia District.¹³

The Republican Party of postwar days posed as the savior of the Union and the true friend of the masses and was able to retain control of the national government from 1868 to 1913 with the exception of the eight years during which Grover Cleveland occupied the White House. The Northern victory, for the Republicans, meant the triumph of commerce

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² "Ninth Census of the United States (1870); Lincoln County, Georgia, Agriculture," 9-10.

¹³ "Census of 1880, Wilkes County," 15-37.

and industry over agriculture. Through "policies of high tariffs and currency contraction," and failure to effectively regulate business practices for the general welfare, that party plunged the agricultural South into an age of economic depression and subjection. While banks, railroads and factories boomed, cotton dropped from 15.1 cents per pound for 1870-1873 to 9.1 cents for 1882-1884; from 1890 to 1893 it sunk to 7.8 cents per pound and finally reached 5.8 cents for the years 1894-1897.¹⁴

In the federal census of 1880 the total amount of Wilkes County land in cultivation is indicated for each landholder. A second total of cultivated land can be obtained by adding the acreage of the tracts on which the individual had planted particular crops. These totals frequently conflict. However, if we divide the cotton acreage by the first total, we find that Drewry J. Aycock planted 32.1% of his cultivated land in cotton; George W. Booker planted 50% of his tilled land in that staple; J. H. Standard planted 46.6% in cotton; John M. Booker, Sr., 21.6%; S. K. Wynn, 68.5%; Mark L. Heard, 26.7%; John A. Sutton, 31.1%; James W. Bellows, 45.9%; John L. Anderson, 32%; Alexander S. Anderson, 51.7%.¹⁵ Consequently, the low prices of the post-

¹⁴ Simkins, South, 254-255.

¹⁵ "Census of 1880, Wilkes County," 15-37.

war period deeply concerned them. In the 1880's John A. Sutton moaned that "we are going to have the tightest times for the next 12 months we have ever had - no corn making and but little cotton and low prices will I fear nearly ruin us all.... Prices will be awful on the Farmers...."16

The census does not indicate that cotton production absorbed the undivided attention and efforts of the Danburg planters during the postwar years. Considerable amounts of acreage were devoted to grains. The following table indicates the acreage allotted by ten of the outstanding farmers to various crops.17

	Corn	Oats	Wheat	Other Grains	Cotton
Alexander S. Anderson	140	25	4		60
John L. Anderson	150	175			270
Drewry J. Aycock	12	20	5		45
Edward D. Beard	8	5	5		25
James W. Bellows	25	30	20		73
George W. Booker	20	15	5		50
Mark L. Heard	20	15	5		15
John A. Sutton	125	90	12	5 (Barley)	140
J. H. Standard	25	20	7		35
S. K. Wynn		8			24

By 1910, 107,418 acres were devoted to corn, oats, wheat and cotton in Wilkes County. At that date 65.1% of the

16 Ms. Letter. John A. Sutton, Danburg, Georgia, to Walter L. Sutton, Atlanta, Georgia, Aug. 14, 1883, in private possession.

17 "Census of 1880, Wilkes County," 15-37.



acreage, or 70,009 acres, was devoted to cotton, 28.6%, or 30,749 acres, to corn, 5.7%, or 6,204 acres, to oats and .4% or 456 acres, to wheat.¹⁸ Like their ante-bellum ancestors, the planters of Wilkes sought to increase, or at least stabilize, their incomes by expanding their cotton production; unfortunately, the later generation was doubly damned by low prices and an unsympathetic national government.

Horses and mules were needed during the war by the cavalry, the artillery and the military transport system. At the same time, civilians were forced to slaughter unusually large numbers of their own livestock to supplement their diet as invading Federal armies cut off many sources of food-stuffs. Then, too, many animals were stolen in the troubled days that followed the collapse of the Confederacy. The story has been handed down in the Sutton family that John A. Sutton recovered several cows and horses in Augusta that had been stolen from his mother's plantation by one of the vagabonds who flooded the country in the first uneasy days of peace. The following table indicates the livestock owned by certain individuals in 1870 and 1880.¹⁹

¹⁸ Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910; Abstract of the Census ...with...Supplement for Georgia ... (Washington, D. C., 1912), 697.

¹⁹ "Census of 1870, Wilkes County," 1-14; "Census of 1880, Wilkes County, " 3-30.

In each column, the first number indicates the number in the particular class in 1870; the succeeding number indicates the number in the same class in 1880.

	Oxen	Horses and Mules	Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Poultry
John L. Anderson	4-2	15-41	63-138	10-0	45-25	0-160
Benjamin F. Barksdale	2-0	9-6	10-30	0-60	12-15	0-59
Edward D. Beard	0-0	7-1	8-7	0-0	10-6	0-23
John M. Booker, Sr.	0-0	7-4	23-31	0-0	20-8	0-12
John A. Heard	4-2	10-9	40-8	7-0	30-25	0-30
Mark L. Heard	4-0	3-3	18-27	10-24	16-16	0-40
John A. Sutton	2-0	12-13	22-54	0-0	25-35	0-60
S.K. Wynn	2-0	4-3	26-7	0-0	16-9	0-10
	18-4	66-80	209-302		174-139	

The number of cattle in the community increased somewhat but the increase in the number of mules and horses was negligible. There was a marked decrease in the number of oxen and swine. It should be noted that the war apparently ended the local preference for oxen as work animals and caused the local planters to employ mules and horses to a greater extent. The estate of Reuben Kendall included 5 mules and a jenny and only 1 yoke of steers and 2 horses in 1869, besides 23 head of cattle, 44 hogs, 30 sheep and 12 goats.²⁰

The postwar community resumed the production of variety of agricultural commodities besides the staple crops

²⁰ "Inventory-Sales, 1869-1924," p. 17.

and livestock heretofore mentioned. Each farm produced copious amounts of butter according to the census in 1880 and, of course, produced a great deal of milk. Benjamin F. Barksdale had 12 apple trees on 1 acre and produced 35 bushels of apples in 1880; in addition, he had 300 peach trees on 4 acres and produced 100 bushels of peaches and a few planters grew Irish potatoes as indicated by the 1880 census report. Edward D. Beard produced 66 gallons of molasses from sorghum cane raised on 1 acre of land.²¹ Benjamin F. Barksdale's plantation produced 100 pounds of honey in 1880 ²² and several citizens of the community accumulated quantities of honey and wax, too. John A. Sutton's sheep produced 105 fleeces in the spring of 1880, totaling 300 pounds of wool.²³ Each plantation was composed of a great deal of timber land. In 1880 John L. Anderson owned 1,875 acres in the 177th Militia District. Twelve hundred acres were in woodland and he produced 100 cords of wood there from.²⁴ Many of the plantations produced cow peas. This farm, for example, harvested 20 bushels in 1880. In 1869 the estate of Reuben Kendall included 1,160 pounds of

21 "Census of 1880, Wilkes County," 30.

22 Ibid., 2.

23 Ibid., 2, 21.

24 Ibid., 15.

fedder.²⁵

The problem of soil conservation carried over into the postwar period from ante-bellum days. The planters were apparently more concerned with the restoration and maintenance of fertility through fertilization of the soil than with prevention of erosion. George W. Truitt, of LanGrange, Georgia was the high-priest of the soil conservationists. "I place the cotton seed for fertilizer as early after Christmas as possible..... About the 10th or 15th of March I put... 400 pound of Acid per acre.... When the cotton seed cannot be had, I use 500 pounds of Gossypium per acre just before planting.... With a Brooks' planter I put in two bushels of seed per acre...using 100 pounds of fertilizer with seed on up land....I use my stable manure by itself, to avoid hauling heavy compost loads ."26 The merchants did a thriving business in guano; Thomas V. Heard noted that "We have taken all our guano notes....."27 John A. Sutton formed a company with eight other Wilkes County men and proceeded to manufacture guana in Washington.²⁸ The Census of 1880 indicates

25 "Inventory-Sales, 1869-1924, " 23-28

26 Circular letter by George W. Truitt, Lagrange, Georgia, in private possession.

27 Ms. Letter, Thomas V. Heard, Danburg, Georgia, to Walter L. Sutton, Atlanta, Georgia, July 10, 1883, in private possession.

28 Washington [Georgia] Chronicle, Mar. 27, 1889. p2.

that John M. Booker, Sr. used \$150 worth of fertilizer on approximately 300 acres of cultivated land. George W. Booker used \$50 worth on 100 acres of tilled soil; John A. Sutton spread \$400 worth of fertilizers over 450 acres of land in cultivation; Drewry J. Aycock used \$387 worth of various soil builders on 140 acres of tilled land.²⁹ Nevertheless, the local farmers and planters failed to work out a solution to the problem of soil exhaustion and conservation and by 1914 there must have been alarming signs of widespread soil exhaustion.

The growth of the machine age in the North in the period after 1865 led to the development of complicated farm machinery but, at the same time, the industrialization of that area increased the availability of such equipment through mass-production. In the early postwar period Southerners retained many of the tools that had made the ante-bellum plantations self-sufficient to a great extent. Reuben Kendall's estate included looms, a spinning machine, blacksmith tools, carpenter's tools, and shoe tools in 1869.³⁰ John A. Heard's estate in 1876 consisted, in part, of blacksmith tools, carpenter's tools, looms, grist and saw mills

29 "Census of 1880, Wilkes County, " 21-29

30 "Inventory-Sales, 1869-1924, "p.17.

and colder press.³¹ As these inherited implements wore out, they were intensely interested in securing new machines that could be used to improve production of staple crop. Tom Sutton asked, "I suppose Uncle John is well pleased with his reaper. I surpose [sic] he will make a large crop of oats this year."³² Brooks planters and Thomas harrows were the rage of the day.

They are those people living in the Danburg community in 1951 who remember herds of pigs, cattle, horses and mules being brought into the locality from eastern Tennessee and Western North Carolina as late as the 1890's so that citizens could supplement their local production of pork, beef and work animals. In 1904 John A. Sutton purchased 199 3/4 pounds of meat for use in his plantation from Heard & Sutton. Twenty pounds of this meat was beef but most of the remainder was undoubtedly salt pork.³³ Veal was provided by slaughtering calves; in 1880 John Sutton's heard produced only 8 calves but he butchered 15 animals in that year;³⁴ hence, it

31 Ibid., p 248-250.

32 Ms. Letter, T. B. Sutton, Auburn, Georgia, to Walter L. Sutton, Danburg, Georgia, June 5, 1882, in private possession

33 "Heard & Sutton Ledger, 1904," John A. Sutton account, 101-103, 300-305, 430-434.

34 "Census of 1880, Wilkes County." 21

is probable that additional animals were purchased to supplement that amount of beef produced on that plantation. However, the Washington Chronicle noted in 1895 that "Messrs. Sutton & Sons of Danburg are fattening cattle for this market. The cattle are fed on cotton seed hulls and meal, and when fat are slaughtered and sent in. We are always glad to see our people producing food supplies at home."³⁵ Mr. Sutton's plantation also produced a considerable amount of mutton. He slaughtered 100 sheep in 1880.³⁶ Benjamin F. Barksdale's 59 chickens produced 80 dozen eggs in that year and his 5 milch cows produced 300 pounds of butter.³⁷ Louise Walton wrote, "We havent killed hogs yet - are afraid it will be warm when the snow melts. Several that killed last Monday week fear they have lost their meat. John Anderson had to put their bones in soap grease ."³⁸ The estate of Thomas A. Heard in 1867 included 1,000 pounds of salt pork.³⁹ and the estate of Reuben Kendall included 400 pounds of bacon in 1869.⁴⁰ It appears that the farms and plantations of

35 Washington {Georgia} Chronicle, April 22, 1895, p 3.

36 "Census of 1880, Wilkes County, " 21.

37 Ibid., 2.

38 Ms. Letter, Louise Danforth Walton, Danburg, Ga. to Harriet Lanforth, Jan. 1, 1868, in private possession.

39 "Appraisals-Sales, 1860-1869," pp 407-410.

40 "Inventory-Sales, 1861-1924," p 17.

the Danburg community retained a certain degree of self-sufficiency with regard to foodstuffs produced thereon. As we shall see, however, the necessity of directing all efforts toward cotton production, or the production of a particular grain, in order to maintain one's income despite low prices caused the farmers and planters to rely increasingly on the local merchants for manufactured articles.

In 1880 John A. Sutton's plantation had a total value of \$10,795 with 74.1% of his investment being in land, 6.2% in livestock, 2.3% in tools and equipment and 9.2% in money and solvent notes. His plantation was valued at \$10,475 in 1904 with 87.8% of his investment being in land at that time, 2.1% in livestock, .9% in tools and equipment and 4.7% in money and solvent notes. James W. Bellows had \$4,050 invested on his farm in 1888 with 83.9% of his capital in land, 3.7% in livestock and 6.1% in money and solvent notes. In 1904 his plantation was worth only \$990, his acreage having greatly decreased. In that year 70.7% was represented by land, 17.6% by livestock and 1.5% by tools and equipment. Drewry J. Aycock's plantation was valued at \$3,470 in 1888, with 72% of his capital being in land, 13.6% in livestock, 1.4% in tools and equipment and 2.3% in crops available for sale on April 1 of that year. By 1904 his plantation was worth \$3,490 and he had 85.9% invested in land, 4.8% in livestock and 1.8% in tools and equipment. In

1888 Benjamin F. Barksdale had 73.85% of his invested capital in land, 10.7% in livestock, 1.8% in equipment and 1.8% in money and solvent notes. In that year Zack W. Anderson had 86.1% of his capital in land, 4.2% in livestock and 2.2% in tools. In 1904 S.K. Wynn had 88.8% of his investment in land, 4% in livestock and .8% in equipment.⁴¹ These statistics certainly indicate that the local farmers and planters had the overwhelming bulk of their money and liquid assets invested in land, and consequently, must have had little ready cash. John Sutton wrote his son that "Our crops are about ruined had no rain yet it is the poorest prospect we have had for years...you must do on as little money as you can...."⁴² In 1858, as we have seen, about 17.6% of property in the 178th Militia District was in the form of money or solvent debts; in 1888 16.6% of property in the district was in that form. However, in 1858 the amount equaled \$68,255 while in 1888 the amount was only \$31,505. By 1904 only 12.2% was in the form of money or solvent notes and the amount equaled only \$16,085. ⁴³

41 "Tax Digest-1888;" "Tax Digest-1904."

42 MS. letter, John A. Sutton, Danburg, Georgia, to Walter L. Sutton, Atlanta, Ga. Aug. 3, 1883, in private possession.

43 "Tax Digest-1858;" "Tax Digest-1888;" "Tax Digest-1904."

THE GROWTH OF COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY

In ante-bellum days the planters bought supplies from local merchants on credit, paying for them when the year's cotton crop was gathered and sold. However, in that period cotton brought respectable prices on the market and, in addition, the planters were not forced to buy a great variety of things from the merchants as their plantations produced most of the goods used thereon. Furthermore, the local planters had accumulated small amounts of reserve capital which could be quickly converted into liquid assets in that earlier period. The Civil War destroyed this reserve capital, entrenched in Washington a government which by its economic program drove the price of cotton down and forced the planters and farmers of the Danburg community to increase their cotton acreage to maintain a decent income. During the latter years of the war cotton planting was discouraged.⁴⁴ With the coming of peace, seed stocks were low and, moreover, ravaging armies or vagabounds destroyed seed, tools and equipment.

Farmers and planters in the postwar community were forced to purchase seed, equipment and supplies from local merchants on credit, paying for them when the cotton crop matured and was sold. Should the year's crop be a failure,

⁴⁴ Coulter, Georgia, 326.

the farmer entered the next year owing the merchant debts of the past year and accumulating additional obligations as the ensuing year progressed. Rates of interest were comparatively high; small wonder that the planters and farmers were constantly in fear of economic ruin. Between January 1, 1904 and December 31 of that year John A. Sutton purchased \$1,043.75 worth of goods from the firm of Heard & Sutton of Danburg. The following table indicates the nature of payments made on this obligation.

<u>Payments in:</u>	<u>Amount:</u>
Interest in Bales of Cotton	568.76
Checks	375.68
Cotton Seed	31.11
Cash	29.98
Lint Cotton	21.46
Corn Seed	14.25
Hay	1.48
Articles Returned	1.03

From Heard & Sutton, John A. Sutton purchased for use on his plantation, crackers, meal, beef, ham, salt pork, flour, sugar, oysters, cheese, coffee, tea, molasses, candy, lard, soda, Irish potatoes, spices, salt, pepper, fish, rice, fruit, grits, coats, sweaters, pants, shoes, hats, spectacles, jeans, calico, gingham, leather, Sea Island cloth, buttons, needles, thread, starch, medicines, writing supplies, nails, shovels, axes, drills, knives, buckets, tubs, lines, traces, collars, stocks, plows, horse shoes and nails, mule shoes and nails,

stove pipes, hinges, staples, screws, well chains, dippers, turnpentine, oil, axel grease, soap, oats, seed, tobacco, matches, fruit jars and numerous other articles.⁴⁵

The development of the tenant system began in the efforts to establish some sort of relationship between the former slave and his ex-master, as we have seen, but the great growth of this system came in later years. Many planters had lost their lands to local merchants by mortgaging their holdings to secure supplies for their former slaves and as the years passed, others lost their land in securing these things for themselves. Once the land was gone, they were forced to rent acreage and to secure supplies by giving the merchants a lien on the anticipated crop. As crop failures were not infrequent, these landless tenants remained in debt to the local merchants who often held the land on which the tenant worked, having received it in payment of earlier debts.⁴⁶ By 1910 over half of the land in Wilkes County was farmed by tenants; 770 farms, totaling 104,423 acres, were operated by managers.⁴⁷

In 1868 the principal mercantile establishments were

⁴⁵ "Heard & Sutton Ledger, 1904," John A. Sutton account, 101-103-300-305, 430-434.

⁴⁶ Simkins, South, 250-253.

⁴⁷ Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Abstract of the Census...with...Supplement for Georgia... (Washington, 1912), 683. Hereafter cited: Census of 1910, Georgia Supplement.

John L. Anderson & Company with merchandise valued at \$8,000, Sutton & Anderson, a joint enterprise of John A. Sutton and Alexander S. Anderson, with merchandise valued at \$8,000 and the business operated by Benjamin Smith with a capital of \$1,000. In 1878 John L. Anderson & Company operated with merchandise valued at \$8,000 while the firm of Sutton and Anderson had apparently dissolved and been replaced by the John A. Sutton Company with stock valued at \$3,000. In addition, the Z. W. Anderson Company held merchandise worth \$1,000 and the firm of Matthews & Talley operated with merchandise valued at \$1,551. In 1888 the firm of John L. Anderson & Company held \$9,300 worth of merchandise. By this time Sutton & Anderson had been re-established with stock valued at \$5,000 and Heard & Sutton, operated by Thomas V. Heard and Walter L. Sutton, were operating with \$2,500 worth of merchandise. In 1904 E. R. Anderson & Company had stock valued at \$1,000, Heard & Sutton operated with \$3,500 worth of merchandise and the business that Alexander S. Anderson continued to operate after John A. Sutton retired had stock valued at \$2,000. In 1913 W.L. Sutton and Company, formed after the retirement of Thomas V. Heard, held stock valued at \$2,000; in that year A. S. Anderson & Company held merchandise worth \$1,500; and the estate of John D. Bunch held merchandise valued at \$1,250, being part of the stock

in the store he operated before his death.⁴⁸ These were the principal mercantile establishments in the community during the postwar years. Various other businesses of a similar nature were operated at different periods. These, however, were the ones that played the most important part in the community.

These establishments sold foodstuffs, hardware, farm equipment, clothing, medicine, fertilizers, seed and various luxury items.⁴⁹ Women sewed much of their family's clothing in these days but these stores provided the necessary materials. Walter Sutton wrote Harriet Wynn that "I enclose a few samples of Galicos we re'cd last night - thinking perhaps you would like to see them."⁵⁰ Of course, women could purchase ready-made goods there, too; he noted, "We have the celebrated 'Jersey Jackets' for sale now - Will sell them cheap - You can tell the girls we have them."⁵¹ Finer woman's apparel was often bought in Washington on the other hand. He was informed that "The Gloves were charged to you

 48 "Tax Digest-1868;" "Tax Digest-1878;" "Tax Digest-1888;" "Tax Digest-1904;" "Tax Digest-1913."

49 "Heard & Sutton Ledger, 1904."

50 Ms. letter, Walter L. Sutton, Danburg, Georgia, to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Georgia, April 25, 1885, in private possession.

51 Ms. letter, Walter L. Sutton, Danburg, Georgia, to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Georgia, Sept. 9, 1885, in private possession.

at T. B. Greens. Will let you know when the hats come in."52 These merchants not only sold goods but they also frequently bought cotton from local planters and farmers. "I went down to New Hope Church yesterday eve," noted Walter, "& weighed & marked 21 B/C that S & A [Sutton & Anderson] bought of W. A. Jones - I went alone in a one horse wagon & carried a pair of scales."53

Since these establishments were located in an agricultural community business fluctuated with the seasons as to both purchases and payments. The account of John A. Sutton with Heard & Sutton gives outstanding evidence of this fact. As we have seen, Mr. Sutton's purchases were paid for in plantation products like cotton, corn and hay to a large extent. These crops matured in the fall for the most part. Hence, monthly payments on his obligations to Heard & Sutton for the year 1904 ran as follows:

<u>Month of payment</u>	<u>Amount of payment</u>
January 1904	\$30.21
February 1904	33.23
March 1904	---
April 1904	6.76
May 1904	.72
June 1904	---
July 1904	.20
August 1904	.32

52 MS. letter, J.T. Lindsey, Washington, Georgia, to Walter L. Sutton, Danburg, Ga., Sept. 9, 1886, in private possession.

53 MS. letter, Walter L. Sutton, Danburg, Ga., to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., Feb. 12, 1886, in private possession.

<u>Month of payment</u>	<u>Amount of payment</u>
September 1904	\$187.91
October 1904	265.76
November 1904	91.84
December 1904	54.48

Similarly, purchases by Mr. Sutton fluctuated with the seasons, Spring planting meant increased activity for the Danburg merchants.

<u>Month of purchase</u>	<u>Amount of purchase</u>
January 1904	\$55.51
February 1904	156.61
March 1904	242.17
April 1904	79.14
May 1904	78.64
June 1904	23.69
July 1904	61.86
August 1904	77.35
September 1904	78.44
October 1904	287.86
November 1904	39.14
December 1904	41.46

In the spring there were fences to repair and fields to plant and for this work the merchants provided nails, wire, tools, seed, equipment and fertilizer. In the fall there extra hands picking cotton and they must be feed. Also there were cotton sacks to buy and the merchants often loaned the planters money with which the extra hands were paid off.⁵⁴ The merchants prayed for good crops as they greatly preferred

⁵⁴ "Heard & Sutton, Ledger, 1904," John A. Sutton account, 101-103-300-305, 430, 434.

collecting cash to seizing farms. Said John A. Sutton, "Our crops are about ruined...and it is going to be hard times collecting this fall...."55

If we compare these figures and divide the amount of each month's purchases into the difference computed by subtracting the monthly payments from the monthly purchases, we find that about 45% of Mr. Sutton's January purchases were made on credit, and also on credit about 78% of the February purchases, all of the March and May purchases, about 91% of his April purchases, nearly 100% of the July and August purchases, and 7% of the October purchases. In September, November and December alone did his payments exceed his purchases.56

Lumbering played an important part in the economy of the community in the period following the Civil War. Fannie Lindsey noted that "the saw mill is doing splendid on the branch below George Sutton..."57 John A. Sutton wrote his son that "I am still sawing at the mill - I am selling the lumber and using it myself nearly as fast as we saw it."58

55 MS. letter, John A. Sutton, Danburg, Ga., to Walter L. Sutton, Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 3, 1883, in private possession.

56 "Heard & Sutton Ledger, 1904," John A. Sutton account, 101-103, 300-305, 430-434.

57 MS. letter, Fannie Lindsey, Danburg, Ga. to Walter L. Sutton, Atlanta, Ga., May 28, 1883, in private possession.

58 MS. letter, John A. Sutton, Danburg, Ga., to Walter L. Sutton, Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 3, 1883, in private possession.

"... I have S. J. Bunch yet sawing at the back place and it will take him a month or two yet to get through. He has Sawed some 50,000 or 60,000 feet and the re will be that much on the other side an immense lot of it I suppose 100,000 feet or more...."59

As we have seen, John A. Sutton fattened cattle and sold them on the Washington market. Hides are an important by-product of cattle and he noted in 1883 that "I received the Adjct Sales of the hides and it is all satisfactory...."60 John L. Anderson established a shoe manufactory in Danburg near the present site of the Baptist Church and in 1886 Walter L. Sutton reminded Harriet Wynn that he had watched her "walking down by the shoe shop for a long time."61

John L. Anderson operated two mills in this vicinity during the postwar years. Both operated for eight months during the year and were idle for four months. Together, they produced 672,000 pounds of corn meal, 12,000 pounds of feed grain, 1,000 barrels of wheat flour and 70,000 bushels of other grain in the year 1879-1880. Both were located on

59 MS. letter, John A. Sutton, Danburg, Ga., to Walter L. Sutton, Atlanta, Ga. Aug. 14, 1883, in private possession.

60 MS. letter, John A. Sutton, Danburg, Ga. to Walter L. Sutton, Atlanta, Ga., May 13, 1883, in private possession.

61 MS letter, Walter L. Sutton, Danburg, Ga. to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., Mar. 1, 1886, in private possession.

Anderson's Creek, later called Sims or Mill Creek and together they employed about 6 men. One was powered by a turbine wheel and the other by an overshot wheel, 18 feet high. During this period Benjamin F. Barkesdale operated a mill on the same creek which employed 3 men and produced 252,000 pounds of corn meal and 4,500 bushels of grain during the year 1879-1880. This mill was powered by a turbine wheel and operated on full schedule for 3 months, three-fourths time for 3 months and half-time for 6 months during the year.⁶²

Gins were run during the postwar period by numerous citizens of the community, including Walter L. Sutton, James Benjamin Sutton, John A. Sutton, Alexander S. Anderson, E. R. Anderson, and several other persons. In 1908 the gin of Walter L. Sutton produced 2,432 bales between September 25, 1908 and March 2, 1909. These bales were divided by weight into the following classes:⁶³

WEIGHT:

0-250#	251-300#	301-350#	351-400#	401-450#	451-500#	501-550#
NO.1	0	4	11	49	146	212

WEIGHT:551-600#

NO. 63

Eleven bales of cotton weighed over 601 pounds. After the

⁶² "Tenth Census of the United States (1880); Wilkes County, Georgia, Manufactures." on microfilm in the library of the University of Georgia library. No page number.

⁶³ " W. L. Sutton Gin Book, 1908."

turn of the century the community experimented with "round gins", according to tradition. These gins baled the cotton in round bales for thereby the cotton could be greatly compressed. It was hoped that cotton could be shipped directly to the North or to England without having it compressed in Augusta or Atlanta. Compression was necessary to save shipping space, of course.

It is said that most of the ex-slaves who were blacksmiths moved to nearby towns after 1865 to ply their trade and left the country without any blacksmiths to serve the local planters. Peter Cauble, a profane but efficient Virginia white, entered the community and served it for years by traveling around to shoe their horses and mules and repair their equipment. As time passed, several white citizens of the community learned the trade, including Pikey Hinton, Bob Wallace and Mr. Blackmon, and a few Negroes like Mose Standard and George Charley McLendon took up the profession, too.

Unlike their ante-bellum predecessors, the postwar merchants in Danburg did not have to travel extensively in order to secure stocks for their stores. By 1880 most wholesalers and manufacturers in nearby cities were sending out representatives, called "drummers", to display samples of their wares and take the orders of the various retailers scattered about the countryside. Harriet Wynn remarked,

"Wasn't Danburg 'booming' with drummers. Two took dinner at Auntie's."⁶⁴ These drummers put in their appearance about once a week in Danburg and stayed there over a day filling orders. They represented suppliers of clothing, fertilizers, hardware, foodstuffs and luxury items.⁶⁵ Even some of the local men were attracted by the profession; "Mr. Z. W. Anderson...has just commenced travelling as a tobacco drummer. We wish him much success in his new field. He informs us that he will travel in eight or ten counties around in this section."⁶⁶

TRANSPORTATION

During the postwar period the local merchants continued to buy their goods in Augusta and Charleston, but they increasingly relied on Atlanta to supply them with their wants. By 1900 Atlanta had probably captured the bulk of Danburg's external trade. Freight could be shipped from Atlanta to Washington on the Georgia Railroad and wagons were sent daily to Washington by several of the local merchants. Unfortunately, the roads were often made impass-

⁶⁴ MS. letter, Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., to Walter L. Sutton, Danburg, Ga., Feb. 5, 1886, in private possession.

⁶⁵ Postal card collection of Walter L. Sutton, in private possession.

⁶⁶ Washington [Georgia] Chronicle, Sept. 2, 1895, p 3.

able by bad weather though road commissioners like W. A. Booker, Thomas V. Heard and Oscar L. Fortson in the 187th Militia District and W. N. Bradley, J. W. Armstrong and W. T. Standard in the 179th District attempted to keep them open;⁶⁷ Walter Sutton informed Harriet Wynn that "The wagons didn't go to Washington today I'll send your box up the first chance."⁶⁸

Attempts were made in the 1880's to connect Danburg with the outside world by rail. Fannie Anderson wrote her nephew that

bro john was so much taken up in the survey of the rail road....Danburg is all excitement about the Rail road. Capt Dwight is at the village to night. he went out with Dr. Walton, Bro John A, & John A, Zack, and bud to look out a rout, went down cross Aunt Harret Place, cross the creek about Miss Tabby Bradfor, on to George Muse's, Monroe Harper's n the rear of Mr. J. H. Willis' out to Pisto! creek, over to the shoals, but he found this rout would not do through Aunt H's place, and if the road comes by Danburg it will have to cross above D It will come not far from bro John's between here and the village. it will run down the branch at Moore's Standard; I don't know which side and go across J L A's field, and down through the Aldrich field and down the Aldrich's branch, to Morris creek near Mrs Standard, and then down Morris Creek toward Mrs. Winnie Jones, then across to Mr Mosley Haw's on to Lincolnton. It will cross Newford creek above Mr. Bellow's gin & through Mrs Quinns lowground, but by Miss Tabby B on to G. Muse's, Monroe Harper's to Pisto! Creek & to the shoals."⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Ibid., June 23, 1895, p 3.

⁶⁸ MS. letter, Walter L. Sutton, Danburg, Georgia, to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., June 23, 1885, in private possession.

⁶⁹ MS letter, F.P.A., Danburg, Ga., to Walter L. Sutton, Atlanta, Ga., June 1, 1883, in private possession.

"J. L. A. goes to Augusta today," noted John Sutton, "to a meeting of the Board of Directors of the A. E. & C. R Road. He will come home Thursday or Friday and we will hear how he came out North about help for the road..."⁷⁰ As late as 1890 it was rumored that "Col James M. Smith...will build a railroad to Danburg from Smithsonia Oglethorpe County."⁷¹ None of these schemes ever materialized and Danburg was forced to rely on the condition of roads into Washington where the nearest rail connection lay.

John A. Sutton apparently played a leading part in the schemes to lay a railroad through the community. He was concerned with several other ventures at this time, too. In 1889 he became a charter member of the Excelsion Manufacturing Company of Washington, Georgia which had a capital stock of \$30,000 and proposed to manufacture fertilizers and guano, cotton-seed oil, gin cotton and produce electricity for the town of Washington. John M. Green, William B. Norman, H. Brewer Pope, John M. Callan, Richard O. Barksdale, Theo M. Green, Charles A. Alexander and Marshall M. Sims were the other charter stockholders.⁷² According to tradition, Mr. Sutton was also vitally concerned with the telephone line that was put up between Danburg and Washington

⁷⁰ MS. letter, John A. Sutton, Danburg, Ga. to Walter L. Sutton, Atlanta, Ga. Aug. 14, 1883, in private possession.

⁷¹ Washington [Georgia] Chronicle, Jan. 22, 1890, p 3.

⁷² Ibid., p 2.

during the early 1890's and continued to serve the community intermittently until the 1920's.

Such was the economic development of the Danburg community up to 1914. Soil exhaustion, erosion and over-expansion of cotton production warned the citizens that perilous days lay ahead. Whether or not they could ride out the storm of the future agricultural depression depended on that industry, frugality and sturdiness of character which had set them apart during the past 140 years.

CHAPTER III

RELIGIOUS LIFE

Most of the people who settled the Danburg community immediately before and after the Revolution were Presbyterians. However, the war years swept away what few restraints existed in this frontier country and the coming peace found the inhabitants and the immigrants equally demoralized. Methodist and Baptist preachers came into the locality before the Presbyterians could organize themselves and the people were herded into new religious camps by the stirring exhortations of those preachers.¹ This inability or unwillingness on the part of the Presbyterian Church to hold its members was evidenced as late as the 1850's. In 1853 Samuel Danforth, a Presbyterian, joined the Methodist Church,² and in 1865 his widow, also a former Presbyterian, joined the Baptist Church at Danburg.³ Presbyterians found what communion they had with their denomination in neighboring towns and cities like Washington and Augusta; "I attended the Presbyterian Church today - It was a Sacramental

¹ Bowen, Wilkes, 119-120.

² Newsclipping, undated and from unidentifiable source, in private possession.

³ MS. resolution on the death of Harriet Danforth by a committee of the Newford Baptist Church, Danburg, Georgia, in private possession.

occasion," wrote Samuel Danforth from Augusta.⁴

The Baptist Church began to organize itself in Georgia immediately after the Revolution. In 1772 the first church had been established in the up country at Kiokee.⁵ The Georgia Association, composed of about five churches in the Piedmont country around Wilkes, was organized in May, 1785.⁶ On June 27, 1822 several such associations throughout the state were united in the General Baptist Association of the State of Georgia.⁷ The Georgia Baptists formed a part of the national Baptist organization until southern Baptist split with their Northern brethren during a dispute over the slavery issue in 1845 and formed a separate organization.⁸ Meanwhile, Sanders Walker organized Fishing Creek Church in 1783.⁹ and in 1795 Newford Baptist Church at Danburg was established.¹⁰

The first Methodist service was held at Grant's meeting house around 1789. This meeting-house was located near

⁴ MS. letter, Samuel Danforth, Augusta, Georgia, to Harriet Danforth, Danburg, Ga., April 24, 1836, in private possession,.

⁵ Bowen, Wilkes, 110.

⁶ History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia... (Atlanta, 1881), 27-28. Hereafter cited: Baptist Denomination.

⁷ Ibid., 105-106.

⁸ Coulter, Georgia, 302.

⁹ Bowen, Wilkes, 110.

¹⁰ "Records of Danburg Baptist Church," II, 134. Hereafter cited: "Danburg Baptist."

Petersburg in what is now Elbert County. Here the Methodists held conferences in 1789 and 1790.¹¹ As we have seen, Bishop Asbury traveled through this country in the years following the Revolution and he probably did a great deal to develop Methodism in the area.¹² The Methodists established New Hope Church between Lisbon and Danburg during the early years of the nineteenth century. In 1890 this church was moved to Danburg.¹³ Some fourteen years later it was burned and the Methodists were temporarily forced to use the building of the local Baptist church.¹⁴ This church flourished in Danburg until the 1920's. In 1894 it was the seat of the conference for the Athens District of the Methodist Church.¹⁵

The local Baptist church offered numerous outlets for the energies of its members in the community. There were meetings of the regional association to attend and, in addition, district meetings of deacons and ministers of the faith.¹⁶ Harriet Wynn asked, "Did you know that general

¹¹ Bowen, Wilkes, 120.

¹² Ibid., 126.

¹³ Washington Georgia Chronicle, Aug. 6, 1890, p 3.

¹⁴ "Danburg Baptist," III, 126.

¹⁵ Washington Georgia Chronicle, Aug. 6, 1894, p 1.

¹⁶ "Danburg Baptist," I, 10, 30, 115.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and the role of the accounting department in ensuring the integrity of the financial statements.

2. It also highlights the need for regular audits and the importance of having a clear understanding of the company's financial position at all times.

3. The second part of the document focuses on the importance of budgeting and forecasting, and how these tools can be used to manage the company's resources effectively.

4. It also discusses the importance of having a clear understanding of the company's cash flow and the need to maintain a healthy balance sheet.

5. The third part of the document discusses the importance of having a clear understanding of the company's tax obligations and the need to consult with a tax professional to ensure compliance.

6. It also discusses the importance of having a clear understanding of the company's legal obligations and the need to consult with a legal professional to ensure compliance.

7. The fourth part of the document discusses the importance of having a clear understanding of the company's financial goals and the need to develop a strategic plan to achieve them.

8. It also discusses the importance of having a clear understanding of the company's competitive position and the need to develop a marketing strategy to gain a competitive edge.

9. The fifth part of the document discusses the importance of having a clear understanding of the company's financial risks and the need to develop a risk management strategy to mitigate them.

10. It also discusses the importance of having a clear understanding of the company's financial opportunities and the need to develop a strategy to capitalize on them.

meeting would be at Beulah this year & Ministers & Deacons at Danburg."¹⁷ At home, the local church held monthly conferences, usually on the second or fourth Sunday,¹⁸ at which the business affairs of the church were discussed, church officials elected and various committees appointed to labor for the general congregaton, after which the assembly often gathered to hear sermons. A Sunday School was in existence by 1883,¹⁹ although it did not operate as a formal organization until the following year.²⁰ Sunday School met in the morning or in the evening, depending on the time of preaching services. Baptismal services were occasions of great rejoicing but the climax of religious activities was the "protracted meeting," or revival, usually held in August. Thomas V. Heard noted, "I am going to camp meeting Saturday eve in Lincoln Co. I wish that you could be on hand.... Several person [s] about the burgh are going."²¹

¹⁷ MS. letter, Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., to Walter L. Sutton, Danburg, Ga., April 3, 1886, in private possession.

¹⁸ "Danburg Baptist," I, 54, 217.

¹⁹ MS. letter, "Cousin Mittie," to Walter L. Sutton, Atlanta, Georgia, May, 1883, in private possession.

²⁰ "Danburg Baptist," II, 161.

²¹ MS. letter, Thomas V. Heard, Danburg, Georgia, to Walter L. Sutton, Atlanta, Georgia, July 24, 1883, in private possession.

The church had about 90 members around 1881.²² In ante-bellum days both Negroes and whites belonged to Newford Baptist Church and, together, they gave it a very considerable membership. In September, 1847 there were 95 white members and 50 blacks; in October, 1857 there were 49 white members and 86 Negroes.²³

The Baptist Church was careful to see that its flock did not stray from the fold. The church records contain extensive notations relative to the dismissal of members for non-attendance. Such action was taken as late as 1895 when Augustus Callaway was excluded from membership "for continual absence and other unchristian conduct."²⁴ An indicted person was usually given a chance to defend himself; "Bro Moses Sutton having fail'd to attend the regular Conference, and not offering any Satisfactory reason, he was censured by the Church... which appointed... a committee to labor with said Bro...."²⁵ Occasionally, absentees were not noted at the conferences ²⁶ and in 1877 there was a motion to abandon the rule of decorum which required the attendance

²² "Danburg Baptist," II, 134-136.

²³ Ibid., I. 136, 205.

²⁴ Ibid., I, 22.

²⁵ Ibid., I, 148.

²⁶ Ibid., I, 134.

of all male members and, instead, to appoint a committee to encourage absent members in their attendance.²⁷ By 1879 this movement had collapsed and it was resolved to "let the decorum stand and...enforce the rules for males...to attend ...conference."²⁸ In order to compel attendance at a Baptist church, the local congregation excluded Thomas R. Thurmond and his wife, Ann, in 1843 for failing to carry a letter of dismission with them when they left the state."²⁹ Baptist looked with disfavor on anyone joining another faith, as was shown in 1897 when charges were preferred against "Lala Wheatstone for Heresy in that she has united with the Presbitarian Church and on motion fellowship was withdrawn from her by this church."³⁰ and in 1898 when similar charges were preferred against "sister Bessie Standard for uniting herself with the Methodist Church."³¹

James Matthews, Sr. was the first outstanding pastor of the Newford Baptist Church at Danburg and he served from about 1804 to 1825, at which time he was forced to retire because of ill health. Guy Smith served for a brief inter-

²⁷ Ibid., II, 71.

²⁸ Ibid., II. 89.

²⁹ Ibid., I, 69.

³⁰ Ibid., III, 38.

³¹ Ibid., III, 58-59.

val thereafter but the pulpit was soon occupied by James Matthews, Jr. who occupied it until 1838. He was succeeded by M. A. Lane who, in turn, was followed by J. N. Bolton.³² Bolton served from 1841 to 1847 and resigned when he decided to "remove west."³³ M. A. Lane occupied the office once more and served intermittently from 1851 to 1857. Other pastors during this period were P. F. Burgess, F. N. Rhodes and J. Hogan. In 1869 T. J. Beck became pastor and he was succeeded in 1878 by John H. Fortson.³⁴ Fortson was succeeded in the early 1890's by B. M. Callaway who, in turn, gave way to W. A. Hogan in the late 90's. J. S. Callaway served for the year 1907 while Hogan was on leave of absence but Hogan returned and held the pastorate until the late 1930's.³⁵ In 1855 the local congregation undertook to share a pastor with Clark's Station Baptist Church³⁶ and in 1881 John H. Fortson was pastor of Newford, Friendship, Sharon and Fishing Creek.³⁷

³² Ibid., II, 134-136.

³³ Ibid., I, 137.

³⁴ Ibid., II, 134-136.

³⁵ Ibid., III, 159.

³⁶ Ibid., I, 181.

³⁷ Baptist Denomination, 209.

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. It also provides a brief overview of the methodology used in the study.

The second part of the paper presents the results of the study. It includes a detailed description of the data collected and the analysis performed. The results are presented in a clear and concise manner, with appropriate use of tables and figures.

The third part of the paper discusses the implications of the study. It includes a discussion of the limitations of the study and the conclusions drawn from the results. The paper also includes a list of references and a list of figures.

The paper concludes with a summary of the findings and a list of references. The references are listed in alphabetical order and include a list of figures. The paper is written in a clear and concise manner, with appropriate use of tables and figures.

The congregation was also served by itinerant preachers who traveled over the countryside preaching the gospel.³⁸ In 1835 the congregation covenanted again for the services of James Matthews, Jr. for the ensuing year "with the privilege of absence provided he Travels."³⁹

In 1842 the church decided to elect a pastor to serve as long as "both pasture [sic] and Church May agree together."⁴⁰ Before this time, church and pastor had signed yearly agreements. In 1847 the church decided to pay its pastor a specified yearly salary⁴¹ and in 1850 the church rescinded the rule requiring them to pay all traveling preachers.⁴² In 1847 the church paid Burgess \$100 a year for his services. By 1897 the pastor was paid \$175 a year⁴³ and two years later the church resolved to pay him \$200 yearly if things went well.⁴⁴ If the church was not generous to its pastor, however, it most assuredly was loyal to him. In 1848 Burgess traded horses with John L. Wynn. Wynn was apparently not satisfied with the arrangement but Burgess approached him

³⁸ "Danburg Baptist," I, 173.

³⁹ Ibid., I, 5.

⁴⁰ Ibid., I, 68.

⁴¹ Ibid., I, 138.

⁴² Ibid., I, 173.

⁴³ Ibid., III, 3.

⁴⁴ Ibid., III, 78.

and the matter was settled to the satisfaction of the congregation. During the winter of 1849 a report circulated that "Burgess made a false Statement to the Church, that the case between himself & Wynn was Settled when it was not. Upon hearing this report Francis McLendon & Daniel Shumate went to see Wynn and found the Case Settled as Burgess has Said. The Church is therefore unanimous in Sustaining Said Burgess as their Pastor.⁴⁵ The church was less favorably disposed toward Isaac A. McLendon, a licensed Baptist preacher living in the community, though never the official pastor of the congregation. He was accused of "leading apart...members of the Church by his influence & to participate with him in his disorderly meeting & caused a division in the Church."⁴⁶ As McLendon gave satisfactory answers to the charge, it was withdrawn. W. A. Hogan was highly esteemed by the congregation who, in 1906, granted him leave of absence to travel in Palestine.⁴⁷

The outstanding pastor produced by the community was Reverend John H. Fortson. He was educated at the Elberton Male Academy and at Mercer University but entered the Confederate army in 1861 and was not ordained until November,

⁴⁵ Ibid., I, 16-161.

⁴⁶ Ibid., II, 56.

⁴⁷ Ibid., III, 147.

1862. Over six feet tall and weighing only 133 pounds, he became a leader in the Sunday School and mission movements in Georgia. His plain and simple speeches and modest, sociable manner endeared him to the community. In 1873 the county honored him with the presidency of the County Board of Education.⁴⁸

To assist the pastor the church appointed various men as deacons and ordained them whenever an assembly of ministers gathered. In 1836 James Matthews, Phillip Matthews, Drewry W. Jackson, and Bradley Kimbrough, of Tennessee, ordained deacons for the congregation.⁴⁹ Among those who served as deacons were John Bailey, Blackmon Bert-on, John Slack, James Pullin, S. G. Wheatley, Joseph Jackson, F. M. McLendon, G. B. Bunch, D. Jones, W. B. Norman, J. N. Stribling, D. J. Aycok, and W. A. Booker.⁵⁰ In addition, the church regularly elected a clerk to record the minutes of the monthly conferences and among those who served in this capacity were William Beard, Hezekiah B. Montgomery, Jesse Hinton, Gibson Collins, Reuben Kendall, R. Booker, J. T. Lindsey, G. B. Bunch, F. M. Stribling, I. A. McLendon, W. A. Booker and W. L. Lane.⁵¹ Lizzie May Heard, Daisy Wynn and

⁴⁸ Baptist Denomination, 209.

⁴⁹ "Danburg Baptist." I, 15-16.

⁵⁰ Ibid., II, 134-136.

⁵¹ Ibid., II, 134.

Mary Bunch served at various times as church organist.⁵² Alexander S. Anderson and Walter L. Sutton were the outstanding Sunday School superintendents of the local Baptist church.⁵³

The Danburg Baptist occupied several buildings between 1795 and 1914. In 1858 the congregation resolved to build a new temple of worship,⁵⁴ and by 1860 it had been constructed and the old one was advertised for sale.⁵⁵ John L. Anderson agreed to build another church nearer the village in 1878 if the building currently in use were given to him.⁵⁶ This was done and the new church eventually changed its name from Newford Church to Danburg Baptist Church, although a motion to so change it was first defeated.⁵⁷ By 1890 it was generally known as the Danburg Baptist Church. This new building was furnished with spittoons⁵⁸ and in 1908 the old organ was traded for a new piano.⁵⁹ The church provided hymnals sometime during the late 1890's. Prior to then each

⁵² Ibid., III, 80.

⁵³ Ibid., III, 52.

⁵⁴ Ibid., I, 210.

⁵⁵ Ibid., I, 230.

⁵⁶ Ibid., II, 82.

⁵⁷ Ibid., II, 103.

⁵⁸ Ibid., II, 191.

⁵⁹ Ibid., III, 181.

person provided his own. In 1863 the local Baptists built a pool for baptismal services.⁶⁰ In earlier days a nearby spring had been used.⁶¹

It behooved the congregation to keep their meeting-houses commodious and in good condition. To accomplish the former, they enlarged the church around 1835, providing a special door for the "convenience of the Sisters."⁶² The Church was again enlarged in 1844.⁶³ In 1849 S. G. Wheatley agreed to serve as housekeeper for the year for the sum of \$8; ⁶⁴ in 1864 Mr. Holtzclaw performed this service for \$15 a year;⁶⁵ the housekeeper in 1897 recieved \$15 yearly, too.⁶⁶ The church was never able to pay large salaries and its surplus was generally small. On April 15, 1861, the church's treasury contained only \$1.45 while on February 7, 1857 it contained only \$.39.⁶⁷

The church carried on a relentless struggle to perfect the morals of the congregation. In 1839 the rules of

⁶⁰ Ibid., I, 253.

⁶¹ Ibid., I, 19.

⁶² Ibid., I, 11, 21.

⁶³ Ibid., I, 81.

⁶⁴ Ibid., I, 162.

⁶⁵ Ibid., I, 255.

⁶⁶ Ibid., III, 37.

⁶⁷ Ibid., I, 242, 199.

decorum were amended and the following resolution adopted:

"If any member of this church Shall be guilty of public intoxication he Shall be excluded form the Fellowship of the Church at her discrestion unless an acknowledgement is made at the next convenient conference."⁶⁸ R. Branum was reported to the conference in 1835 for "intoxication & swearing" and a committee was appointed to labor with him.⁶⁹ In 1848 a report was made against Joseph Heard for "Drunkness, Fiddleing & singing corn songs and after some remarks he was excluded for those crimes."⁷⁰ In 1874 charges were brought against Jimmie Aycock for drinking.⁷¹ The church not only tried to regulate consumption of alcohol but it made a definite effort to regulate distribution of liquor. Charges were preferred against Daniel Shumate in 1843 for "keeping a grog in connexion with his grocery at Danburg." This case was closed when Shumate said " he was sorry that had gone into that buisness to the affliction of the Church and he had abandoned it which was satisfactory."⁷² In 1841 charges were brought against William Quinn for "drunkness Retailing Spirits for

⁶⁸ Ibid., I, 43.

⁶⁹ Ibid., I, 14.

⁷⁰ Ibid., I, 158.

⁷¹ Ibid., II, 41.

⁷² Ibid., I, 77-78.

Keeping open doors & selling on the Sabbath also violating the laws of this State." Quinn must have kissed the Blarney Stone for he was able to give satisfactory explanations in answer to all these charges. Unfortunately, John S. Moss was not so gifted and he was excluded from membership for simple "drunkness."⁷³

It was the lot of the ladies to be chastised for dancing. In 1840 Rebecca McIlhaney was excluded from the church on being convicted of dancing.⁷⁴ Sarah Bryant was accused of "dancing and falsafying her word of promise not to Dance any more by again indulging in the practice of the Same." In May, 1846 she was excluded from the fellowship of the church for this crime.⁷⁵ Men were equally guilty of dancing. A charge was laid against Seaborn Owen in 1846 for "dancing and paying a fiddler for playing the Fiddle."⁷⁶ In 1839 similar charges were brought against Joseph Williams and in 1840 he was excluded from the congregation.⁷⁷ An unusual case arose in 1845 when John Walker was accused of swearing and dancing after having recieved a letter of dismissal from the church;

⁷³ Ibid., I, 55.

⁷⁴ Ibid., I, 51-52.

⁷⁵ Ibid., I, 112.

⁷⁶ Ibid., I, 108.

⁷⁷ Ibid., I, 48.

for this crime the church resolved "that his letter of dismission be countermanded until Said offending Bro give this Church satisfaction."⁷⁸

In order to keep in the good graces of the congregation and avoid the risk of expulsion various members obtained the opinion of the church on certain matters before acting thereupon by placing queries on the communion table to be read to the conference and answered. "Took a Quarry found on the table is it Right for any Member of the Church to Bake Bread or Cakes for there husband and others to Sell or trafic at Public Places of worship on the Sabbath." The church was unanimous against such conduct.⁷⁹ Another member asked "whether it is consistent with the gospel order or not for a church Member to buy tickets in lotteries." The church was also unanimous against this type of conduct.⁸⁰ A third member inquired "into the propriety of Members participating in or taking part in games such as Marbles drafts pitching Dollars." A majority of the church voted against such sports.⁸¹

The church delt with theft in a summary fashion and Mr. Aldridge was excluded for that crime without hesitation

⁷⁸ Ibid., I, 105.

⁷⁹ Ibid., I, 306.

⁸⁰ Ibid., I, 29.

⁸¹ Ibid., I, 58.

in 1873.⁸² In some cases, however, the church exhibited great leniency and it forgave Jesse Hinton for playing whist at Delhi as soon as he expressed his sorrow at having done so and promised to do so no more.⁸³ It tried to protect the person of members of the congregation and in doing this was forced to appoint a committee to investigate a fight between Jeremiah Frasure and Bachelor Dennis, both members of the local church.⁸⁴ The church was also zealous in guarding the reputations of members in good standing. "Whereas a Report has gone out...that Bro. Cox a member of Rehobeth Church remarked that Mrs. Nancy Cox his Brothers Wife who was killed by lightning a short time previous had gone to Hell or was in Hell Resolved that we being presant at said time and hearing what was said in referance to said Dead deny the above Charge & affirm that it is fals and we further say Dead was favorable to her being in Heaven as she was a pious Member of the Church Resolved futher that the Clerk furnish Bro Cox with a copy of these Resolutions if he request it."⁸⁵

The church frequently acted as an arbiter in community

⁸² Ibid., II, 35.

⁸³ Ibid., I, 241.

⁸⁴ Ibid., I, 7.

⁸⁵ Ibid., I, 77.

disputes and often assumed the character of a local law enforcement body. Charges were levied against Jesse Boatwright in 1835 by Mrs. James Hinton "for claiming ten Dollars of Mr. James Hinton the husband of Said Sister Hinton on as agreement to Live together in the year 1832 and for Bringing Suit for the Same as She consieved unjustley."⁸⁶ William T. Lane brought charges against Joseph Danner "for not unreservedly submit to the civil laws of this State in getting subscription of Men to oppose the Sale of property by the Sherrif of this County."⁸⁷ In 1835 Bachelor Dennis was excluded from the church because he left the county "without notifying his creditors and leaving them unpaid."⁸⁸ The court settled difficulties that arose between S. G. Wheatley and his son, Simeon;⁸⁹ in 1844 it labored with J. D. Self for injuring one of Daniel Shumate's hogs and with William Poole for mistreating his wife.⁹⁰ Mr. Shumate was apparently a hot-tampered individual because charges were brought against him in 1844 for fighting with James Benson. Mr. Ben-

⁸⁶ Ibid., I, 13.

⁸⁷ Ibid., I, 72-73.

⁸⁸ Ibid., I, 8.

⁸⁹ Ibid., I, 246.

⁹⁰ Ibid., I, 84.

son drew a knife on Mr. Shumate knocked him down with a stout stick; the church justified Mr. Shumate on the grounds of self-defense.⁹¹

A most interesting case developed when Reuben Kendall married a daughter of Moses Sutton without first securing the father's consent to the marriage. In November, 1844 Mr. Kendall, at one time clerk of the conference, arose and stated that he no longer considered himself a member of the church but he was reprimanded for his imprudence and retained in the fellowship of the congregation.⁹² In January, 1845 Mr. Sutton brought charges against young Kendall and in February he was excluded from the congregation.⁹³ Miss Letitia Sutton, now Mrs. Reuben Kendall, the woman in the affair, was determined to have the final word; she announced her withdrawal from the church. The church ignored this and dismissed her in April.⁹⁴ The matter was finally closed when Moses Sutton announced in his will of 1855 that "my grandchildren by my daughter Letitia Kendall.... have no interest in my Estate Whatever."⁹⁵

⁹¹ Ibid., I, 86.

⁹² Ibid., I, 87-88.

⁹³ Ibid., I, 90-91.

⁹⁴ Ibid., I, 92.

⁹⁵ Ibid., I. 93.

During the early years of the nineteenth century the Baptist denomination was split deeply by divergences of opinion on the question of mission work.⁹⁷ This division was evident in the local church. In 1836 the conference appointed "Thursday before the Second Sabbath in July next as a day of fasting humiliation and prayer in Refference to the difficulities Existing in our denomination."⁹⁸ The local church apparently favored mission work, however, for in 1834 it donated \$5 to home-mission work and \$5.81 for foreign-mission labors.⁹⁹ In 1846 it collected \$4.06 for benevolent purposes and sent this money to the state organization.¹⁰⁰ In 1886 Mr. Richardson Booker was appointed to collect funds for a "Mercer endowment."¹⁰¹

The church rendered a number of social services in the community itself. It prepared obituaries and called for days of thanksgiving and prayer.¹⁰² In 1839 it decided to raise funds for the relief of Mrs. Freeman and her children and two years later members of the congregation were sent to repair her house.¹⁰³ In 1897 it premitted local citizens to build a school building on the church's grounds

⁹⁷ Baptist Denomination, 161-174.

⁹⁸ "Danburg Baptist," I, 19.

⁹⁹ Christian Index, Nov. 4, 1834, p 2.

¹⁰⁰ "Danburg Baptist," I, 118.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., II, 197.

¹⁰² Ibid., I, 187, 190.

¹⁰³ Ibid., I, 29, 42.

and allowed the children to use its land as a play-yard.¹⁰⁴
In 1846 the local temperance society was allowed to use the building as a meeting place.¹⁰⁵

Religion played a vital part in the development of the Danburg community for the church's activities were felt in many walks of life. it provided a refuge for the spirit, regulated public morals and rendered numerous social services. The importance and value of the church was not overlooked by the citizens of those days. A cousin of Walter Sutton admonished that "Youth is the time to start the Christian race, and ensure the prize of eternal life."¹⁰⁶

In ante-bellum days the labors of the Methodist denomination in evangelizing the Negroes were unsurpassed. In certain districts where large numbers of Negroes were found specially-appointed missionaries worked with the blacks. The Baptists had no societies for evangelizing the slaves but an active interest in their spiritual welfare was demonstrated.¹⁰⁷

The local Baptist church allowed the Negroes an active but well-regulated religious life. As one congregation, they attended the same worship services, although they were seated in seperate sections of the church. In addition, they were

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., III, 41-42.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., I, 117.

¹⁰⁶ MS. letter, Mamie C., Marietta, Ga. to Walter L. Sutton, Danburg, Ga., Mar. 18, 1882, in private possession.

¹⁰⁷ Flanders, Slavery, 177-179.

often allowed to listen to preachers of their own races, as in 1855 when the colored members of the church drew up a "petition for the privilege of inviting Billy Cotton a Negro to preach to they." 108 The white conference granted its premission in this case and in 1856 premitted "Billy a colored preacher the privilege of preaching a funeral service."109 Care must be taken, of course, that insurrectionary ideas were not planted in the minds of the blacks by these Negro preachers. The church often allowed the colored members to hold seperate conferences and regulate business coming before them.110 In 1847 a colored conference selected two Negroes to assist the white deacons in administering the Lord's Supper and the action was subsequently approved by the white conference.111

The white Baptists also exercised control over the admission of Negro members into the denomination. In 1836 the white conference appointed a committe which took nearly a month to investigate the character of Henry, a woman owned by Andrew Wheeler, before recommending her admission to the church.112 During the preceeding year, 1835, this

108 "Danburg Baptist," I, 189.

109 Ibid., I, 193.

110 Ibid., I, 17.

111 Ibid., I, 128.

112 Ibid., I, 23-24.

woman had not been admitted since she could not produce a letter from her owner granting her premission to affiliate with the Baptists.¹¹³

In ante-bellum days the slaves and whites used the same meeting-house. After the war the whites "Adopted a motion to let the Col members of the church have the use of the house by paying a sufficient sune to have the house well kept and promising...to conduct themselves with propper decency or to bear proportional part of the necessary repairs to the house."¹¹⁴ This arrangement was not satisfactory and two months later the motion was withdrawn.¹¹⁵ However, in 1877 the whites granted the Negroes the use of the building "for present by keeping the house in decent Order & call such Pastor as will be acceptable to the Church."¹¹⁶ In 1879 the colored congregation withdrew from the church and organized a separate body, taking the name Newford.¹¹⁷ The whites had already begun to use Danburg Baptist Chruch as their title, though the white congregation was often called Newford for some time after this period.

¹¹³ Ibid., I, 303.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., II, 11.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., II, 13.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., II, 69.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., II, 134-136.

After John L. Anderson built a new edifice for the whites, the colored congregation continued to occupy the old building near Newford Creek.¹¹⁸ Their first two pastors I. A. McClendon and Thomas C. Lassiter, were white men, In 1880 Thomas Andrews, a Negro, became pastor of the colored flock. In 1886 he was succeeded by Calvin Lockhart who served until the late 1920's. They elected Clark Sutton clerk in 1880 and appointed Robert T. Bradley to succeed him in 1881. During this period J. S. Bradley and Frank Barksdale served as deacons.¹¹⁹ By 1914 the Negroes had established a well organized congregation.

The church attempted to regulate the conduct of the slaves as it regulated the conduct of their white members. In 1834 Isaac, a black owned by Thomas Douglass, was charged with stealing cotton but he was forgiven for this crime when he acknowledged guilt and begged forgiveness.¹²⁰ Livy, belonging to James W. Barksdale, was accused of stealing two bales of cotton at Lisbon and, in addition, he was charged with adultery and running away from his master; for these reasons he was excluded from the congregation in 1862.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Ibid., II, 134.

¹¹⁹ Ms. memorandum by Walter L. Sutton, in private possession.

¹²⁰ "Danburg Baptist," I, 201.

¹²¹ Ibid., I, 248.

Charges were leveled against Elva, a slave of K. S. Turner, in 1855 for theft and against Baily, belonging to Mrs. Lindsey, in 1845 on a similar count; Tolly, belonging to T. C. Marshall, was charged with having stolen property in his possession in 1855.¹²² In each case committees were appointed to investigate the matter. Viney, A Negress belonging to N. G. Barksdale, preferred charges against Lucy, "a fellow Sevant for imprudent conduct to wit for stealing Sausage meat as She believed and for a hard Spirit manifested when asked about it and afterwards."¹²³

Martial relations of the slaves were closely scrutinized by the Baptists. W. B. Norman preferred charges against Tolly and Massy, his wife, for "not Living together as becomes man & wife...."¹²⁴ Dennis, a colored brother of the church, complained in 1842 that his wife was "not acting by him as a wife Should do & also refuses to let him come where she lives for several Months."¹²⁵ He asked the congregation to work out a solution to his problem. Later in the year he requested permission to marry another slave but the whites informed him that they "cannot allow him to Marry...during

¹²² Ibid., I, 101, 184.

¹²³ Ibid., I, 301.

¹²⁴ Ibid., I, 216.

¹²⁵ Ibid., I, 308.

his present wives life."¹²⁶ On the other hand, in 1857 Billy, belonging to Mrs. Sarah Wheatley, was permitted to marry a second time, his first wife having left him.¹²⁷ In 1846 the church investigated the charges against Harriet, property of William L. Wootten, which accused her of marrying a man who was already married. A committee investigated and discovered that the husband had previously been parted from the former wife and the charges against Harriet were dropped.¹²⁸

Others were less fortunate than Harriet. Lucinda Standard, a slave, was charged with fornication in 1859 and upon her admission of misconduct, she was excluded from the church. ¹²⁹ Miriah, a Negress, was accused of immoral conduct and she, too, was excluded in 1846; Lanny, a minor belonging to Sydney Moss, was excluded for adultery in 1856.¹³⁰ Less serious charges were laid against Dennis, belonging to Thomas Marshall, but he was dismissed for drunkenness and profanity in 1844.¹³¹ However, all were not treated so harshly. Jacob, the property of Moses Sutton, charged that Peter, the slave of Mrs. Lindsey, publicly states that "all the members

¹²⁶ Ibid., I, 64.

¹²⁷ Ibid., I, 208.

¹²⁸ Ibid., I, 117.

¹²⁹ Ibid., I, 227.

¹³⁰ Ibid., I, 194-313.

¹³¹ Ibid., I, 79-80.

of Newford Church was liars;" he made a satisfactory statement and was kept in the congregation.¹³²

Slaves represented a valuable investment and the church attempted to protect the masters from financial loss. Billy Hinton, a slave and an assistant deacon in the church, was censured for harboring a runaway fellow servant belonging to James Cade;¹³³ he was subsequently removed as deacon, Esther, property of John C. Stokes, was indicted for absconding from her overseer but she gave satisfactory explanation and was excused from the charge in 1845.¹³⁴ Bob, a slave of F. E. Smith, was less fortunate and he was excluded in 1861 but he was charged with adultery and having run away from his master.¹³⁵

If the church often restrain the black's conduct, it frequently protected his person, too. Moses Sutton charged Daniel Shumate with "Whipping his Negro Without Cause, and the church appointed a committee to labor to reconcile the difficulty."¹³⁶ An unscrupulous white might often lead a

¹³² Ibid., I, 177.

¹³³ Ibid., I, 310.

¹³⁴ Ibid., I, 309.

¹³⁵ Ibid., I, 238.

¹³⁶ Ibid., I, 150.

slave astray; the church attempted to protect the blacks in such cases. Charges were brought against C. H. Jenkins, a white member of the congregation, in 1841 for "hireing a Colored person conterary to the expressed wish of Some of the Members of this Church,"¹³⁷ Two years later Mr. Jenkins was charged with "keeping about himn a Hired Negro woman to wounding of the feelings of his Brethern and to the detriment of the cause of Christ after having been repeatedly solisited in a friendly Manner to desist from the same." He was shortly dismissed from the fellowship of the Baptists.¹³⁸

The Negroes of the community looked to the church for protection, uplifting moral influences and for salvation to an eternal life. For them as well as for the whites, religion was a vital force in their every-day activities.

¹³⁷ Ibid., I, 56-57.

¹³⁸ Ibid., I, 72.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION DEVELOPMENTS

Georgians bestirred themselves to provide for the education of their children following the winning of American independence. The Legislature authorized the creation of several academies in 1783.¹ Such academies offered courses designed to prepare the students for college training² and, hence, might be vaguely compared to the high schools of today. Some of them were supported by financial aid from the state in the form of land or money grants,³ Others were privately endowed institutions, endowed by individuals, the community or a church.⁴ Primary courses like reading, writing and arithmetic were taught in the home or at privately supported "old field schools," so called because they were usually located in buildings constructed on abandoned fields.⁵ In addition, the state provided for the education of children whose parents were poor in what were called "poor schools" or free schools.⁶ An elementary school

1 Dorothy Orr, A History of Education in Georgia (Chapel Hill, 1950), 20. Hereafter cited: Orr, Education.

2 Ibid., 19.

3 Coulter, Georgia, 285-286.

4 Orr, Education. 27.

5 Ibid., 51.

6 Coulter, Georgia, 285-286.

might be both an "old field school" and a "poor school." For those pupils whose parents paid their tuition, it would be the former; for those whose tuition was provided by the state, it would be the latter.

As we have noted, the academics and the "poor schools" received financial aid from the state. In 1821 an endowment of \$500,000 was set aside to be divided equally between academies and "poor schools."⁷ In the late 1830's Alexander H. Stephens persuaded the state to combine all school endowments into a Common School Fund, the income from which was to be distributed to counties according to the number of white school children between 5 and 15. Counties were permitted to supplement their quotes by taxes not exceeding 50% of the general tax rate. The program provided for the laying out of school districts and the erection of houses. In 1849, frightened by the cost of such a program, the Legislature repealed the act.⁸ In the 1850's attempts were made to enact general state-supported education system. In 1858 the Legislature finally passed a bill which provided that the rentals of the Western and Atlantic Railroad would be used to support the elementary education of all Georgia children⁹ and counties were allowed to levy taxes to provide

⁷ Ibid., 286.

⁸ Ibid., 287.

⁹ Ibid., 288.

for their "higher" education.¹⁰ This program was never effected for the Civil War intervened and whatever revenue that state could gather was spent in the war effort. Fortunately, the Radicals were persuaded during the Reconstruction period to reaffirm this free school system and in 1869 a law was passed establishing such a system for both Negroes and whites.¹¹ However, the conservative whites, on their restoration to power, limited the effectiveness of this program, for in the constitution passed in 1877 they levied taxes only for the elementary schools and the University. In 1904 the counties were permitted to create smaller school districts which could levy additional taxes for elementary education. Not until 1910 were the counties allowed to gather taxes for high schools. In 1912 the high schools were made a part of the state educational system and became entitled to state financial aid.¹²

An advisory state Board of Education was established in 1831.¹³ In the period after the Civil War a similar body was reconstituted under an act of 1872.¹⁴ In 1911 this state

¹⁰ Orr, Education, 173.

¹¹ Coulter, Georgia, 356.

¹² Ibid., 421.

¹³ Orr, Education, 110.

¹⁴ Ibid., 216-217.



Board of Education was given authority over the rules and regulations, the courses of study and the selection of textbooks for all public schools.¹⁵

A state Superintendent of Education was appointed in 1866 and under the Radicals' educational program a State Commissioner of Education was nominated.¹⁶ This office was continued under the act of 1872 as an appointive position under the power of the governor.¹⁷ In 1903 this office was made elective and in 1911 the official's title was changed to Superintendent of State Schools.¹⁸

The county set up various groups throughout these years to give additional direction to educational affairs and direct the spending of those funds collected by the county. In 1872 the county commissioner, chosen by the grand jury, was given authority to examine teachers, execute contracts which the county board made with them, visit and inspect county schools and collect school statistics. The county Board of Education appointed trustees for each school district in the county, in addition; these trustees were given

¹⁵ Ibid., 270.

¹⁶ Coulter, Georgia, 356.

¹⁷ Orr, Education, 216-217.

¹⁸ Ibid., 270.

The first of these is the fact that the
government has been unable to
maintain a stable currency. This
has led to a loss of confidence in
the government and a consequent
loss of support for its policies.
The second is the fact that the
government has been unable to
maintain a stable economy. This
has led to a loss of confidence in
the government and a consequent
loss of support for its policies.
The third is the fact that the
government has been unable to
maintain a stable society. This
has led to a loss of confidence in
the government and a consequent
loss of support for its policies.

THE
GOVERNMENT
OF THE
UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

the power to select those teachers who were to be examined by the county Commissioner.¹⁹ In 1911 the county board was given the right to consolidate districts into stronger units and to provide transportation for the pupils concerned. At that time the county commissioner was succeeded by the county superintendent who was to be elected by the people.²⁰

By 1900 distinctions among the several types of schools were greatly blurred. What had once been private academies were often now public supported schools giving both primary and secondary instruction. In the educational reforms of the early 1900's, however, the modern grammar schools and high schools began to emerge as the institutions which they are today.

A legislative enactment in 1783 gave the citizens of Washington, Georgia the authority to set up an academy in their town.²¹ In 1796 a subscription was raised for the construction of a building to be used exclusively by this academy.²² A two-story brick building was erected by 1800 and in that year there were 96 pupils, 2 teachers and a rector. This institution was given a charter in 1819 and it continued to flourish for more than twenty five years.²³ A

19 Ibid., 216-217.

20 Ibid., 270.

21 Bowen, Wilkes, 168.

22 Ibid., 36.

Washington, Georgia paper announced that

The public are assured, that academic learning generally, or preparation (for) an entry into our University, may be as advantageously obtained here, as in any institution in our State. Board may be had at the customary rates, in several genteel families.²⁴

Miss Nancy Anderson, daughter of Thomas Anderson, a citizen of the Danburg community, boarded at the home of Osborne Stone in 1812 and attended the school. A relative commented, "I was informed that you have got the praise of the whole school."²⁵

Another academy was located at Goshen, Lincoln County. To this school repaired Samuel Danforth from New England in 1823. "I am engaged in teaching school in this place Six miles from Lincolnton We have just commenced House Keeping and shall have 5 or 6 Boarders."²⁶ Mr. and Mrs. Danforth apparently thought highly of this school. After they had removed to Wilkes County and established the village of Danburg they sent their daughters to school at Goshen. "Ascertain what you will need for the examination & let me know as soon as you can," she informed Lucy and Louisa in 1840.²⁷

²⁴ Washington News, Feb. 14, 1824.

²⁵ Bowen, Wilkes, 48.

²⁶ MS. letter, Samuel Danforth, Goshen, Georgia, to George Burdine, Jan. 27, 1824, in private possession.

²⁷ MS. letter, Harriet Danforth, Danburg, Ga., to Misses Lucy and Louisa Danforth, Goshen, Georgia, May 16, 1840, in private possession.



The Danforth's youngest daughter, Emma, attended the Washington Female Academy in Washington, Georgia in 1855; here she studied spelling, reading, grammar, writing composition, arithmetic, algebra, physics and the Bible.²⁸

Several academies developed in Wilkes County during the ante-bellum period, including the Washington Academy (1783), Mallorysville Academy (1821), South Liberty Academy (1833), Rehobeth Academy (1837), Rocky Mount Academy (1838), Washington Female Academy (1838), Washington Female Seminary (1856) and the Danburg Female Academy (1838).²⁹ The name of the latter one is misleading, for in 1838 it had an enrollment of 11 boys and 38 girls.³⁰ The boys were taught classics, mathematics, logic, metaphysics and Humanistic and literary studies. The underlying principle of their studies was discipline and they were prepared for the professions of law, medicine or the ministry and leadership in the affairs of state. The girls were given superficial instruction in history, languages and belles-lettres for the purpose of teaching them propriety and submission. Education was to soften women's hearts rather than to train their

²⁸ MS. report card, Washington Female Academy, Washington, Ga., May 18, 1855, in private possession.

²⁹ E. W. G. Boogher, Secondary Education in Georgia (Philadelphia, 1933), 336, 355, 364, 377. Hereafter cited: Boogher, Secondary Education.

³⁰ Ibid.,. 408.



minds. 31

Most of the Danburgers from the earliest days until the 1880's received no higher instruction in books than was to be obtained in "old field schools" which operated throughout this period. Here were taught arithmetic, writing, reading spelling, grammar and geography. These schools were created by the financial aid of various patrons in a community who hired the teacher and provided the school house. The building provided was often a rough log cabin, furnished with split logs placed on pegs for writing desks and seats. Such schools met more often in the summer for inclement winter weather made attendance difficult. Occasionally, one ran through the winter and closed in the spring; the closing was marked by a period of examinations culminating in an exhibition, all of which was a great social event in the community. At the latter, plays were presented, speeches delivered by the boys and poetry recited by the girls. As the patrons were often incompetent to judge a teacher's qualifications and usually based their acceptance of him on the rates he charged, many of the instructors were brutal and unqualified. Teachers were often roving vagabonds or wandering Irishmen with little formal education themselves. Despite all these glaring imperfections, however, the "old field school" system placed the elements of rudimentary

education within the reach of the entire white population of Georgia.³²

Any parent whose annual tax was not over \$.50 was permitted to send his child to a convenient elementary school for three years at public expense in ante-bellum days, provided the child was between 8 and 18 and did not go beyond the subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic. The funds allotted to the counties by the state for the purpose of educating the poor children were frequently combined with funds allotted to county academies by the state, particularly if private academies were plentiful, and the total amount expended on underprivileged children.³³ Unfortunately, too many children were too proud to be labeled "poor children" and they refused to take advantage of this financial succor. The common schools of subsequent years were partly designed to erase this problem by giving state aid to all elementary students.

The academy at Danburg was in existence as late as 1877.³⁴ Among those who attended this institution were Thomas V. Heard, Anderson Jones, Webb Willis, N. G. Barksdale, Bradford Quinn, W. R. Bradley, John H. Walton, Jesse

³² Ibid., 50-68.

³³ Coulter, Georgia. 285-286.

³⁴ Louise F. Hays, Hero of Hornet's Nest (New York, 1946), 52.

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Heard, Charlie Heard, John Mahoney, Jesse House, Joe Hamilton, Tol Walton, John Booker, John Oliver Chennault, Timothy Dunaway, Sam McClallan, William Rhodes, Willie Muse, Drury Muse, J. B. Standard, Dan Standard, B. W. Gresham, Wille Heard, Charley Snelson, Walter L. Sutton, Eb Harrison, John Smith, Edgar Marshall and Willie House. Among the girls attending the school were Lilly Quinn, Harriet Wynn, Mamie Barksdale, Bessie Cade, Annie Cade, Annie Bellows, Annie Booker, Lizzie Sutton, Bettie Harper and Malinda Wheatley.³⁵ Shortly after this period, according to tradition, the elementary and secondary grades were brought together in one school building.

During the years between 1865 and 1904 the elementary grades were financed by the state from revenue secured from the poll tax, a special tax on shows and exhibitions, the liquor tax and a dog tax.³⁶ These state funds were supplemented by private subscriptions taken up in the community; the public fund was often barely enough to run the school for three months. The public fund provided by the state entitled every child to several months education in the year. The private fund entitled children of those parents who contributed to it to several additional months; often these parents attempted to collect enough money to give underprivi-

³⁵ News-Reporter (Washington, Georgia), Feb. 27, 1925, p 8.

³⁶ Coulter, Georgia, 421.

ledged children additional schooling in the year.³⁷ Secondary education was provided for by the parents; by 1894 most of the academies were gone, for the parents, impoverished in the days after 1865, were unable to give their children additional schooling.³⁸

Mr. John Anderson provided the local school with housing during the later years of the nineteenth century. This was generous on his part but it is said to have been unsatisfactory for the students as he was forced to move the school frequently into whatever building was vacant on his plantation. This state of affairs disturbed the Danburg Baptist Church. In June, 1897 it resolved to "give & bequeath to Five trustees of Danburg high school.... so much of our church lot as will be necessary for them to use in the location of a school building." The church stipulated that the building must never be used except "as a school building for white pupils and as a hall for general purposes such as exhibition entertainments..." The church further provided that it would not obstruct "the open space between said school building and church building by erecting any fence or other obstruction which will prohibit the free use of said open space as a play ground."³⁹ Later, the church added the requirement that "no public entertainment shall be

³⁸ Ibid. 250.

³⁹ "Danburg Baptist," III, 41-52.

held in the school building that will conflict with church servis."⁴⁰ This action caused a definite improvement in school facilities. However, much of the school equipment remained fairly primitive. Slates and slate pencils were used well into the 1890's; only the children of wealthier parents were able to afford tablets and pencils. On cold days much time was wasted in unfreezing home made ink.

Nevertheless, school activities continued to enjoy the favor of the community. Graduation exercises lasted several days at this time and they were attended by people from miles around. The first day of Mr. Becks's exercises in 1877 was spent in examining the pupils; on the second day Dr. Robert I. Walton delivered a lengthy address from a stage constructed against the side of the building and tastefully surrounded by a large bush arbor. Dinner was served at tables on the grounds. The celebration continued for nearly a week and the daily programs often lasted until 2:00 A.M.⁴¹

Among the teachers in the postwar period were Mr. Pitt Bradford who taught at Danburg in the 1880's,⁴² a Miss Shipp who taught in that decade,⁴³ Rev. G. M. Kendrick who opened

⁴⁰ Ibid., III, 73.

⁴¹ Washington [Georgia] Gazette. Aug. 10, 1877.

⁴² MS. letter, Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga. to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., May 1, 1884, in private possession.

⁴³ MS. letter, Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., to Harriet

a school at Danburg on July 7, 1890⁴⁴ and by the end of the month had 53 pupils,⁴⁵ the Heard spinsters, Miss Annie and Miss Lizzie and, of course, Mr. Thomas J. Beck who is credited with having received education in Wilkes County after the Civil War.⁴⁶ "Don't you want to go over and 'kiss' Miss Carrie Bye-Bye-this eve. I guess Sister will take her last lessons from here this eve-for a season anyway.... I told her I expect the reason why Miss Carrie didn't give you lessons in Music was because they were afraid you would carry notes to Liz from Chas,"⁴⁷ asked Walter Sutton. Local music teachers may not have been plentiful, however, for in 1892 Miss Annie Bellows stayed in Washington, Georgia "at the Foreman house for a month. She will take music lessons from Prof. Hitchcock."⁴⁸

By 1904, as we have seen, the state and county provided funds for elementary education while private citizens supplemented this fund and, in addition, financed secondary education. The county commissioner hired the elementary teachers who were recommended to him by local trustees. The

⁴⁴ Washington [Georgia] Chronicle. June 25, 1890, p 3.

⁴⁵ Ibid., July 30, 1890, p 3.

⁴⁶ The Story of Washington-Wilkes (Athens, 1941), 62.

⁴⁷ MS. letter, Walter Sutton, Danburg, Georgia, to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Georgia, June 26, 1885, in private possession.

⁴⁸ Washington Georgia Chronicle, Aug. 1, 1892, p.3

state regulated the courses of study, the selection of textbooks and the rules of conduct in these elementary schools. Hence, by that date, the school system was entangled in a mass of rules and regulations and it behooved the state to adopt some sort of reform.

Act No. 678 of the General Assembly of 1904 heralded the dawn on a new day for education in Danburg. This act created a corporate school district in and about the town and decreed that it "shall take in all that territory beginning at that point where Newford Creek intersects the Lincoln county line, and running thence south to the point of intersection of Morris creek with said county line; thence west along said creek to and taking in the lands of J. A. Sutton;]thence in a northerly and northwesterly direction along the lines of said Sutton to and taking in the lands of J. C. Robert, along the west and north boundary lines of said Robert to and taking in lands of L. L. Fortson, along the west line of said Fortson, along north line of Fortson and others, to and taking in the lands of W. L. Sutton, along west line of said Sutton to and taking in the lands of J. A. Sutton's McLendon farm, along the south and west lines of said McLendon farm to point on north; thence east along the north lines of said McLendon farm, Mrs. C. Quinn and A. S. Anderson's Bradford place to a point along the east lines of said Bradford place and Heard and Sutton's place south to

Newford creek, and then along said creek to that point where said creek intersects the Lincoln county line." The management and control of all schools in this district was vested in a local board of education, composed of seven members, to which the Legislature appointed O. L. Fortson, J. K. Standard, W. L. Sutton, John D. Bunch, E. D. Beard, N. A. Willis, and A. S. Anderson. These men were given the power to fill all vacancies on the board, organize and take charge of all school buildings and property in the district, employ teachers, fix their salaries and to fix the tuition to be paid by each pupil. They were also empowered to appoint a district school superintendent and remove him or the teachers at their discretion. This board was given the authority to regulate the length of the yearly sessions although the Legislature required that such sessions be no shorter than 7 months nor longer than 10 months.

To finance this school district, the board was empowered to determine the amount of money needed to run the schools and to raise the amount by levying and collecting a tax that would not exceed one-half of one per cent of the taxable property in the district. In addition, the county commissioner was required to pay over to the board that portion of the public school fund of the county to which the local district was entitled. The district board was given complete control over the expanding of these and any other school funds

collected for the district, i.e., the local taxes, the tuitions received, the funds allotted by the county and any further donations.

The Legislature permitted the district to ratify this act but it was so determined to effect the reforms that the local board of education was given permission to hold yearly elections until the act was ratified by the citizens.⁴⁹ Defeat of the bill was out of the question, for this act allowed the creation of a public supported school system on both elementary and secondary levels. The reforms were completed in 1910 and 1912 when state and county taxes were allocated to high schools as had been done to elementary schools since 1868.⁵⁰

The local board of education hired Miss A. Parke Harris during the school year 1905 and 1906 at \$35 and \$45 per month respectively. She served as assistant teacher under Mr. G. A. Gresham in 1905 and under Mr. F. N. Sander-son in 1906, the last two receiving \$60 and \$65 a month, respectively. Miss Effie West served as assistant teacher in 1906 and 1907 for \$40 a month while Mr. J. H. Wilson worked for \$65 during that period. Robert T. Bradley and his son, Robert T. Bradley, Jr., were hired as teachers for the colored school at this time for \$25 a month but they never

⁴⁹ Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1904 (Atlanta, 1904), 303-304.

⁵⁰ Coulter, Georgia, 421.

served concurrently except in 1906 when the son was hired as an assistant teacher for \$5 a month. The amount of money allotted the district board by the county system was usually enough to pay the teachers' salaries. For example, from March 10 to July 18, 1905 the teachers were paid \$537 and in that period the county commissioner paid the local board an equal amount.⁵¹ In addition to the regular faculty, a music teacher was hired in 1904 when Miss Louneal Walton of Danburg stated that she "would accept the position of music teacher for our school."⁵²

Danburg was not without her college graduates throughout her history. Charles Reab Danforth attended the medical college at Charleston, South Carolina before his premature death in 1845.⁵³ Robert I. Walton graduated from the State Medical College at Augusta before 1877.⁵⁴ John L. Sutton attended Emory College in the 1890's⁵⁵ and Clement E. Sutton, is a graduate of Mercer University and its law school. Walter L. Sutton attended Moore's Business University in Atlanta in 1883. S. K. Wynn was a graduate of Mercer at Pen-

⁵¹ "W. L. Sutton, Miscellaneous Account Book, 1885-1907," 5-48.

⁵² MS. letter, unsigned, to Miss Louneal Walton, Danburg, Ga., June 25, 1904, in private possession.

⁵³ Lecture schedules, in private possession.

⁵⁴ Washington [Georgia] Gazette, Aug. 10, 1877.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 30, 1890, p3.

field. Miss Fannie Lou Anderson, daughter of John L. Anderson, attended Lucy Cobb Insitiute at Athens.⁵⁶ Missess Ida and Lillie Quinn were students at the Georgia Baptist Seminary in Gainesville during 1880.⁵⁷ Miss Lizzie May Sutton was a student at College Temple, Newnan, Georgia.⁵⁸ Providing their children with college educations meant sacrifices for parents in a community never financially well off after 1865. For example, Clement E. Sutton's freshman year at Mercer in the early 1900's cost his parents \$448.30, his sophmore year \$478.63, his junior year \$467 and his senior year \$722.40 ⁵⁹ Martha Anderson Sutton admonished her son, Walter, to "show him [Walter's father] now....that all his labor has not been in vain."⁶⁰

Education is to be highly desired and eagerly acquired. That the citizens of the Danburg community labored so hard for it under such handicaps as they faced deserves commendation. Throughout the entire period from 1773 to 1914 they unceasingly worked to cultivate their minds when conditions were such to discourage less hardy people.

⁵⁶ Ibid., Sept. 21, 1891, p 3.

⁵⁷ School program, in private possession.

⁵⁸ MS. letter, Lizzie May Sutton, Newnan, Georgia, to Walter Sutton, Atlanta, Georgia, June 13, 1883, in private possession.

⁵⁹ "W. L. Sutton, Miscellaneous Account Book, 1885-1907," 35-40.

⁶⁰ MS. letter, Martha A. Sutton, Danburg, Georgia, to Walter Sutton, Atlanta, Georgia, May 5, 1883, in private

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

West of the original settlers in the Danburg community were North Carolinians, as we have seen. They were followed, after the Revolution, by large numbers of immigrants from the state of Virginia.¹ The Carolinians brought with them the democratic traditions of their former homeland while the Virginians brought in the aristocratic mores of the old Dominion. It is said that the hostilities which developed between these two groups because of their different heritages became the basis for the first division of Georgia into political parties, the aristocratic Troup-Crawford faction receiving the support of the ex-Virginians, the democratic Clark-Dooly faction the support of the former North Carolinians.² These two groups were the foundations of the population of the community. Occasionally, immigrants from New England like the Danforths or from other Southern states like the Bellowses and Beards from Tennessee added new strains to the population but the foundations had been established by 1800.

As we have already noted, the earliest settlers brought a few Negro slaves into the country and by 1800 a consider-

¹ Callaway, Settlement, 71-72.

² Knight, Landmarks, I, 1042.

able number of blacks resided in the area. By 1820 Negroes outnumbered the whites in Wilkes County.³ In 1860 nearly 75 per cent of the county's inhabitants were blacks.⁴ In 1790 there ere 24,052 whites and 7,448 Negroes⁵ but by 1910 there were only 6,842 whites and 16,598 blacks.⁶ Increasing restriction was placed on the Negroes as their numbers multiplied. As slaves, they were given no civil or political rights and were not allowed to hire, rent or occupy rooms, houses, stores or plantations or purchase articles for themselves without their masters' permission. Many occupations were denied to them. For example, they were not permitted to work in printing offices where it was feared they would learn to read and fall prey to abolitionist propaganda. In order to regulate their movement, Negroes traveling about were required to have passes from their masters and patrols of whites were authorized to inspect the countryside at night to enforce such regulations. The whites were often lax in enforcing these restrictions but they existed in the laws and were there to be enforced whenever the whites became alarmed and felt such regulations necessary.⁷ Some Georgians were willing to

³ Flanders, Slavery, 65.

⁴ Ibid., 186.

⁵ Ibid., 52.

⁶ Census of 1910, Georgia Supplement, 630.

free the slaves but few Georgians could offer a solution to the problem concerning what should be done with the freed Negroes. Unable to work out a settlement, the state pursued a constant policy of discouraging mammission.⁸ Following the Civil War constitution restrictions on his newly won political rights were evolved in the poll taxes and literacy tests enforced by the state; and social restrictions were maintained by the development of Jim Crow laws.⁹ When the constituted authorities refused to enforce Southern mores regarding the blacks in the days of Reconstruction, extra-legal groups like the Ku Klux Klan maintained the traditional barriers.

HOUSING IN THE COMMUNITY

The first houses erected by the settlers of the early days were crude log cabins with dirt floors and clapboard coverings.¹⁰ Such cabins often contained only one room but when expansion was necessary two cabins could be placed side by side under a common roof, leaving a sheltered "breeze-way" between them. As time progressed, these cabins were improved on. Moses Sutton erected a plantation home of

⁸ Ibid., 248-249.

⁹ Simkins, South, 404.

¹⁰ Gilmer, Georgians, 178-179.

logs which had been hewn and squared; this residence was constructed in ante-bellum days and was occupied by his family until the 1870's. The Wheatley family of Danburg occupied a similar house until the days preceeding the first World War. These later homes were floored and the interior comfortably finished, the "breeze-way" made into a hall and porches added onto the outside of the houses.

The home of Dr. Edward R. Anderson is entitled by Ralph B. Flanders in his book, Plantation Slavery in Georgia, a typical planter's dwelling in 1840.¹¹ It was by no means a mansion. As it stands today, it contains two finished rooms on the downstairs floor, two similar rooms on the upper floor, an upstairs central hall and a similar one downstairs and two long shed-like rooms at the rear of the house on each floor - eight rooms in all. These rooms were lighted and ventilated by about two windows each; the interiors of the four principal rooms were comfortable but were apparently without ornamentation; the shed rooms in the rear were not even finished. The stairway was enclosed and decorated only by wainscoting along the walls of the enclosure. The exterior of the house is not imposing. High up between two sentinel chimneys at each end of the house, a roof rises precipitately and then plunges down the back of the house to a much lower level. There was a porch on the front of the house at one

¹¹ Flanders, Slavery, 212.

time and it is possible that there was a kitchen and auxiliary rooms attached to the rear, such being the custom in ante-bellum days. The exterior is clapboard and the house sits fairly high off the ground in the front, resting on blocks of native stone.

The ante-bellum home of Thomas Anderson Heard stands within a mile of the old Anderson house. It is a similar but larger structure, for it contains several additional rooms in a wing extending from the rear of the structure while a two-story porch covers the front of the home. This house is of the same style as that home built by John A. Sutton, son of Moses Sutton, in the late 1870's. According to tradition, the Sutton home was built around that room in the old log home of Moses Sutton which had been occupied by Moses' wife, Sarah Rhodes Sutton. She was a woman of strong will. Deeply attached to the surroundings of her married years, she refused to allow her son to tear down her room in the old house and he was forced to construct the new home about her beloved room. This house was faced with a two-story porch enclosed in railings. The main portion of the residence included eight rooms, four on each floor, and central halls running through the middle of each story. A wing which included the kitchen and auxiliary rooms extended to the rear.

The houses which most closely resemble the Classical

prototype of ante-bellum Southern residences are the Chennault, Matthews and Sale homes between Danburg and Lisbon. Tradition says that these three houses were constructed before the Civil War by the same man for the three families. Similarities among them are so numerous that this tradition seems undoubtedly true. The owners are said to have hired a Mr. Moss of South Carolina to erect the structures. Several months before Moss arrived, he ordered Chennault to saw the necessary lumber and secure the other needed materials. This lumber had seasoned by the time Moss appeared and he began construction immediately. While the Chennault residence was rising, Moss supervised the sawing of timber for the Matthews home; as soon as the former was completed Moss began work on the latter, its timber having seasoned while he was occupied with the Chennault house. In such a manner the three residences were eventually completed. They are not purely Classical in design. The body of each house is not greatly unlike the body of John A. Sutton's home. However, the Greek motif is evident in the facades of the former. The Matthews house is fronted with four huge round columns which rise two stories to support the roof; the Chennault house is similarly fronted with four huge square columns. Second story porches, running across the entire front of each house, are hung from iron rods. These two structures stand adjacent to the Danburg-Lisbon road about a quarter of a mile apart on a broad, open

plain and together, they form a most impressive architectural scene.

The John A. Anderson home at the cross-roads in Danburg has the columned entrance associated with Greek Revival architecture but it resembles the pure Greek ideal even less than the homes previously mentioned. The three Anderson brothers, Alexander Stephens, Zack W. and John L., built their homes in a row along the Danburg-Washington road; only the John Anderson home stands today. This house is said to have been constructed around the residence of Dr. A. D. Statham, the second settler in the village and a close friend of its first settler, Samuel Danforth.

The most interesting house in the Danburg community is the old Anthony residence which lies hidden near a portion of the old Danburg-Washington road. This is the only brick residence in the community and it is said to be the first and largest brick dwelling in Wilkes County. It is very peculiar in design; the house is shaped like a "T", the main portion forming the column, a front wing crossing it to form the capital. The main portion is two-story, the front wing one-story. Facing the front wing, one is confronted by a low building at each end of which is a room and the center of which is a porch enclosed by three arches; towering behind the middle of this forward structure is the end wall of the main part of the residence. A cellar, now filled

water, runs under much of the house. In 1908 a Wilkes County reporter stated, "The bricks were made and burned by the slaves on the plantation. The nails and hinges were made in the blacksmith shop on the place. The lime used in mortar and plastering was gotten by burning and pounding oyster shells, these having been brought up the Savannah river on boats. The sand was brought from the creek Fishing Creek and washed. After the mortar was mixed it was packed away in a kiln for three months to 'make'. The mantels were hand-carved in designs of large wheels, and were very high, the one in the dining room being eight feet. This wonderful house was three years in building, and there is enough brick in the walls to build two modern mansions." It was stated in 1908 that the house was then 120 years old but that seems rather absurd. The house was built by Bowling Anthony who married Nancy Stone. At his death she moved to Washington, Georgia after having "the doors and shutters of 'The Brick House' closed - leaving the house furnished exactly as it was - her husbands clothes in the closets, his hat and boots in their accustomed places, as if he had only gone on a visit and was soon expected to return. On account of its being closed thus for many years, rumors were common among the old negros that it was the adobe of spirits."¹²

The economic havoc wreaked on the community by the

¹² Washington Reporter, (Washington, Georgia), Mar. 5., 1908, p6.

Civil War forced most of the citizens to build houses smaller than those erected during the ante-bellum years. The S. K. Wynn home in Danburg is typical of the homes constructed between 1865 and 1914. In the front, one room extends forward so that the porch runs only three-fourths across the width of the house. There are seven rooms in the home and a wide central hall running from the front porch to the back porch. The front door is ornamented in the fashion of the late nineteenth century, being surrounded by alternately placed red and blue window panes. Homes generally similar to this one were built by O. L. Fortson, Walter L. Sutton and several others citizens in the area.

The Wynn home was built in 1889. In 1904 John A. Sutton constructed a similar residence to replace the house which he had built in the late 70's and which had been destroyed by fire in the early years of the twentieth century. Builders of today will sigh with regret when informed that the cost of building such houses changed very little in sixteen years. The S. K. Wynn home was constructed for \$1,514.16 in 1889 and the John A. Sutton residence was built for \$1,716.23 in 1904. In 1889 a thousand bricks were purchased for \$5.25; in 1904 they cost \$6.50. A residence of this sort was painted for about \$70 in 1889 and for only \$56 in 1904. The bill for shingles in 1889 was \$100 and in 1904 was \$83.75. The contractor was paid \$298 in 1889 and

\$315 in 1904. 13 In those days one could depend on a house costing when completed what it was estimated the house would cost before construction began.

The citizens of the community loved their homes. As we have seen, the planters of ante-bellum days lived on their estates instead of moving to nearby towns. Small wonder, then, that they should, generally, find their resting places often within sight of their residences. Dr. Anderson and his wife are buried within sight of their old home.. The departed members of the Matthews and Chennault families rest together only a short distance from their former adobes. Barksdales, Anthonys, Suttons and Powells are all buried on what was once family property and several of them are buried within sight of the family houses. However, many of the citizens of the community preferred to be interred by the church of each one's faith and most of those citizens who lived in the village itself are found resting in the cemetery behind the home of the John L. Anderson.

In the days of slavery the Negroes were housed in villages near the various plantation homes. Slave cabins were small and frequently poorly constructed of logs and scrap lumber; but it behooved the planters to protect the health of such valuable property and by 1860 the Negro

13 "Heard & Sutton Ledger, 1904," 434. "W. L. Sutton, Miscellaneous Account Book, 1885-1907," 8-9. "Emma L. Wynn, House Expense Book, 1889."

housing had generally improved. Mud chimneys were replaced by brick ones, the cabins were floored and occasionally the windows were glassed; most of them were sheathed with clapboards by that time.¹⁴ After the war, housing was not greatly improved and today several abandoned cabins still standing were made of squared logs and covered with clapboards.

The furnishings of the homes in the community were rarely what can truly be called elegant. In 1799 Jacob McLendon, Jr.'s estate included a black walnut cupboard, a black walnut table, a black walnut chest, 3 bedsteads and auxiliary furniture and 6 chairs.¹⁵ Between 1812 and 1816 John R. Anderson's estate contained a cupboard, a pine table, a dining table, 2 pine chests, 3 bedsteads with auxiliary furniture, a looking glass, a lot of framed chairs and a secretary.¹⁶ By 1831 John Heard's estate included a cupboard, a dressing table, a looking glass, 2 pine tables, a walnut folding table, 6 bedsteads with auxiliary furniture, a mahogany bureau, 2 pine chests and 3 trunks and 8 split-bottom chairs.¹⁷ In 1876 John A. Heard's estate included 2

¹⁴ Flanders, Slavery, 152-156.

¹⁵ "Inventory, 1794-1806," 32-33.

¹⁶ "Inventory-Appraisals, 1812-1816," 50.

¹⁷ "Inventory-Appraisals-Sales, 1828-1831," 502-505.



folding tables, a cupboard, a sideboard, 6 bedsteads, a wardrobe, 3 washstands, a sewing machine and 6 chairs.¹⁸ In the years after 1876 the homes were furnished more elaborately as is evidenced by the inherited furniture found in the homes today.

In 1811 the estate of John Anderson, father of John R. Anderson, included a frying pan, a copper skillet, one soup dish, one large dish, a large earthen dish, a water pitcher, one water glass, a tumbler, 6 wine classes, 6 earthen plates, 3 cups and saucers with teaspoons and 4 tablespoons.¹⁹ By 1831 John Heard's estate included 3 sad irons, a pair of brass candlesticks, 11 knives, forks and spoons, a lot of crockery, andirons and "costers waiters decanters & tumblers."²⁰ Joseph Wheatley's estate in 1855 contained 2 dozen knives, forks and spoons, a lot of tin ware, 2 pots, 2 ovens, spiders, a bread hoe, waffle irons and 3 pair of hooks.²¹ Reuben Kendall's estate in 1869 included \$4 worth of knives and forks, \$8 worth of silver forks, a cooking stove, \$12 worth of glassware, a lot of crockery, a dozen wine glasses and waffle and

18 "Inventory-Sales, 1869-1924," 248-250.

19 Ibid., 1811-1812, 98-100.

20 "Inventory-Appraisals-Sales, 1828-1831," 502-505.

21 "Journal YY," 262-263.



wafer irons,²² In 1880 53 citizens of the 178th Militia District had up to \$99 worth of kitchen and household furniture; 12 had kitchen and household furniture valued between \$100 and \$199; only 8 had such equipment valued at over \$200.²³ In 1878 John L Anderson owned \$200 worth of silver plate and jewelry, John A. Sutton owned \$60 worth of such goods and Zack W. Anderson owned only \$20 worth of similar things.²⁴ In 1913 John L. Anderson's estate owned household furniture valued at \$400, John A. Sutton owned such equipment worth \$300 and Thomas V. Heard owned similar furniture worth \$250.²⁵

The estates of Jacob McLendon, Jr., (1799), John Anderson, (1811) John Heard (1831) and Joseph Wheatley (1855) include candlesticks and moulds. In addition, the huge fireplaces probably provided what light was needed in most cases, for an agricultural people, retiring at dusk to rise with the sun, spent the dark hours resting from their labors. In 1869 the estate of Reuben Kendall, a comparatively prosperous man, included 4 lamps;²⁶ by this time kerosene or

22 "Inventory-Sales, 1869-1924," 17.

23 "Tax-Digest, 1888."

24 Ibid., 1878.

25 Ibid., 1913.

26 "Inventory-sales, 1869-1924," 17.

coal oil was available to the general public. The account of John A. Sutton with Heard & Sutton in 1904 enumerates repeated purchases of lamp fuel. During the period immediately before the World War I several families installed J. B. Colt lighting system. Colt's equipment produced a gas from carbide and pumped the gas throughout a house through pipes; outlet lamps were placed at various points where light was needed. These systems were rather messy and inefficient and they were abandoned by most of the owners before 1920.

The Danburg citizens were rarely isolated one from another. Roads cut across the countryside and when they were impassable one could go foot. In 1799 Jacob McLendon Jr.'s estate included 6 horses, a wagon and a saddle.²⁷ By 1855 Joseph Wheatley's estate contained 2 horses, a wagon, 2 side-saddles and a man's saddle.²⁸ In 1869 Reuben Kendall's estate included 2 horses, several mules, 3 wagons, 2 carriages and a buggy.²⁹ Telephones were installed in many of the homes during the early 1890's and the line was used intermittently until the 1920's. The Federal government undoubtedly established a mail route through this area at an early date; as we have seen, there was a distributing post

27 "Inventory, 1794-1806," 32-33.

28 "Journal YY." 262-263.

29 "Inventory-Sales, 1869-1924," 17.

office at Petersburg before 1800. It is said that Samuel Danforth was the first Danburg postmaster; he was succeeded by his widow, Harriet Brown Danforth and she, in turn, was followed by daughter, Emma Danforth Wynn, who served until about 1907. Of course, the mail did not always get through. "The Mail from Augusta yesterday morning was lost between the Double Wells & Washington. It was put in the Boon behind It may have been Robber," wrote Samuel Danforth in 1843.³⁰

ENTERTAINMENT IN THE COMMUNITY

Old and young, alike, were never without amusements in the community. The little girls jumped the rope., played jackstones and hopscotch. Boys played ball, marbles, leap-frog, tag, shinney, bull pen, knucks and jumping. Swimming holes were made by damming streams or using the mill-ponds in the area.³¹ They were given May parties,³² picnics³³ and they were the center of attention at school exhibitions.

As adults found their earliest entertainment at local churches where they sang during the service and talked before

³⁰ MS. letter, Harriett Danforth, Danburg, Ga., to Charles R. Danforth, Charleston, South Carolina, Dec. 23, 1843, in private possession.

³¹ Orr, Education, 65-66.

³² MS. letter, Martha A. Sutton, Danburg, Ga. to Walter L. Sutton, Atlanta, Ga., May 5, 1883, in private possession.

³³ MS. letter, Fannie L., Danburg, Ga., to Walter L. Sutton, Atlanta, Ga., May 2, 1883, in private possession.

and afterwards. "The singing at the meeting-houses of the primitive Baptists tempted but few to attend for the sake of the melody."³⁴ Women and men, too, love to gossip and talk and so they continued to flock to the churches despite the music. The summer revivals continued to be great social events throughout the history of the community and the young folks journeyed afar to various churches on Sunday for the ride, the companionship and, of course, the sermons.³⁵

In the early days the citizens undoubtedly attended public horse races. "Races Will commence on the first Wednesday in March next, free for any horse, mare or gelding - subject to the regulations of the Augusta Turf, as to weight and ages," announced the Washington News in 1824.³⁶ In that year it also announced that "The Ladies and Gentlemen of Washington and its vicinity are respectfully informed that on Monday Evening, March 22d, will be presented at the Globe Tavern a Dramatic Olio [sic] by Mrs. Turner, Mrs. Ford and Mr. Warner, embracing a variety of Recitations, Songs, &c"³⁷ In 1885 Walter Sutton informed Harriet Wynn that "a blind

³⁴ Gilmer, Georgians, 179-180.

³⁵ MS. letter, Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., to Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., Nov. 10, 1883, in private possession.

³⁶ Washington [Georgia] News, Feb. 28, 1824.

³⁷ Ibid., March 20, 1824.

man will give a Magic Lantern Show tonight at the School-house."38

Public entertainment was available but private entertainment was more plentiful. There were barbecues,39 musicales,41 oysters suppers42 and candy pulls.43 "The company of Mr. Samuel Danforth and Family is Respectfully Solicited at my home on thursday 29th Instant at 6 oclock p.m. to tea," announced Henry P. Wooten in 1847.44 Another invitation reads: "The company of Mrs. Elizabeth Anderson is requested at the house of S. Danforth on Monday the 23rd inst. to a ball."45 "Miss Lucy S. Danforth is respectfully solicited to attend a Quilting Party at my house on Friday Morning the 24 inst, and likewise to a Cotillion Party in the evening

38 MS. letter, Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., Feb. 19, 1885.

39 MS. Letter, Walter Sutton, Danburg. Ga., to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., Aug. 6, 1885, in private possession.

40 MS. letter, Emma D. Wynn, Mallorysville, Ga., to Harriett Wynn, Danburg, Ga., May 20, 1879, in private possession.

41 MS. letter, Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., June 18, 1885, in private possession.

42 MS. letter Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., Jan. 19, 1886, in private possession.

43 MS. Invitation, in private possession.

44 MS. invitation, in private possession.

45 News Reporter (Washington, Georgia), Feb. 27, 1925.



the latter will commence at 4 o'clock PM," announced Julia Anderson, wife of Dr. Edward R. Anderson.⁴⁶ Occasionally, a Danburger would go as far as Augusta to attend a ball.⁴⁷

Hunting was always a popular sport in the community. The estate of John R. Anderson included a shot gun in 1811; the estate of John Heard included a shot gun in 1831; the estate of Joseph Wheatley included a shot gun in 1855; the estate of Thomas A. Heard included 2 rifles in 1867; the estate of Reuben Kendall included a Colt Pistol, a shot gun and a Sharps rifle in 1869; the estate of John A. Heard contained a Colt pistol and a double barrel shot gun in 1876.⁴⁸ Harriett Wynn wrote, "Mess'rs Chas. Walton, Will Heard and Will Williamson, or 'Gray' as he is familiarly called, are the champion bird hunters of this community."⁴⁹ Even the young ladies hunted; in the mid-1800's Walter Sutton informed Harriet Wynn that "Sister says come up Saturday morning and go bird hunting with the crowd."⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Ms. invitation, in private possession.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ "Inventory-Appraisals, 1812-1816," ⁵⁰ "Inventory-Appraisals-Sales, 1828-1831," 502-505. "Journal YY," 262-263. "Appraisals-Sales, 1860-1869," 407-410. "Inventory-Sales, 1869-1924," 17, 248-250.

⁴⁹ MS. letter, Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., to Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., Jan, 7, 1886.

⁵⁰ MS. note, Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., in private possession.

In the years after the Civil War most Southerners shunned the Fourth of July, allowing the Negroes to claim it for their own holiday. The Southerners, however made Christmas a holiday par excellence. This day was marked by religious rites and huge family feasts following the arrival of Santa Claus on Christmas morning. Fire-crackers were popped and eggnog consumed. For blacks and whites alike, this was the grand climax of the year.⁵¹

Courtship might be a period of anxiety but it was also a period of gaiety. The smitten parties were not allowed to see each other too frequently; said Harriet Wynn, "Mama says you can come Friday night but must not come any more until Tuesday morning;"⁵² it would give me the Blues for a whole week to miss Seeing you on Sunday's."⁵³ First, of cours, the suitor must be acceptable to the young lady's parents. Walter Sutton's mother wrote, "I think you ought to be very careful who you introduced to your sister. I would not bring any except good Steady boys...."⁵⁴ If the suitor was satisfactory, however, contacts could be indirectly had

⁵¹ Simkins, South, 304-305.

⁵² MS. letter, Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., to Walter Sutton, Danburg, Georgia, Sept. 23, 1886, in private possession.

⁵³ MS. letter, Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., Mar. 13, 1886, in private posssession.

⁵⁴ MS. letter, Martha A. Sutton, Danburg, Ga., to Walter Sutton, Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 7, 1883, in private possession.

through the exchange of gifts like boquets,⁵⁵ fruits,⁵⁶ jewelry,⁵⁷ chincquapins,⁵⁸ embroidery⁵⁹ and Valentines.⁶⁰ The young man often bought a buggy during courtship,⁶¹ and, after naming the horse in honor of the young lady,⁶² he would take her abroad to picnics⁶³ and to various churches on Sunday.⁶⁴ The wedding, of course, was always a gala event and Walter Sutton climaxed his marriage to Harriet Wynn by inviting his entire wedding party to go on the honeymoon.

⁵⁵ Ms. letter, Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., Jan, 30, 1885, in private possession.

⁵⁶ MS. letter, Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., to Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., July 8, 1884, in private possession.

⁵⁷ MS. letter, Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., Mar. 12, 1885, in private possession.

⁵⁸ MS. letter, Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., Sept. 29, 1885, in private possession.

⁵⁹ MS. letter, Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., Feb. 9, 1885, in private possession.

⁶⁰ MS. Valentine, in private possession.

⁶¹ MS. letter, Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., May 8, 1885, in private possession.

⁶² MS. letter, Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., to Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., Mar. 2, 1885, in private possession.

⁶³ MS. letter, Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., July 2, 1885.

⁶⁴ MS. letter, Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., Feb. 1, 1885, in private possession.



When entertainment could not be had at home, visits could always be made to friends and relatives. Miss Wynn informed Walter Suttton, "Aunt Mary is going to send the carriage down... Mama keeps after me to go. I dont want to go but expect I will as Mama seems to think it is contrari-ness. I cant keep from getting homesick...."65

"Mr. Anderson... spent a few weeks at the Franklin Springs last summer...."66 Occasionally Danburgers went North in search of amusement. "S. K. Wynne, W. R. Wynne, B. A. Neal, Gordon Neal, John Wilkinson and Jas A. Moss will leave next Monday for a trip to the World's Fair."67 "Mr. (A.S.) Anderson and children, of Danburg, left this morning for a visit to the exposition. Mr. Earl Anderson, of Danburg, has gone on a visit to the exposition."68

Several clubs and societies flourished which could engage the leisure hours of the citizens. Hiram Lodge of the Masonic Order was founded in ante-bellum days. A temperance society was active around 1846.69 The Modern Woodmen of American flourished between 1912 and 1920.

65 MS. letter, Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., to Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., July 10, 1886, in private possession.

66 MS. letter, D. A. Baker, Royston, Ga., to Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., June 3, 1886.

67 Washington, [Georgia] Chronicle, Aug. 7, 1893, p.1.

68 Ibid., Nov. 25, 1895.

69 "Danburg Baptist," I, 117.

LITERATURE IN THE COMMUNITY

The estate of John Anderson in 1811 included a Bible, Mason's Apology, an English reader and "Seven Dersomds," a hymn book and "Contract," 6 volumns of Newton's works, a volumn of Moner's Universal Geography, Divinity of Christ & modes & subjects of Baptism and 2 volumns of the Beauty Spectator.⁷⁰ The estate of his son, John R. Anderson, included a Bible, an apology and English reader.⁷¹ The estate of his grandson, Dr. Edward R. Anderson, included \$35 worth of books.⁷² As time passed, the Danburgers continued to do much of their reading in religious works; commented Harriet Wynn, "I read Mr. Talmage's Sermon last night...it is just splendid...." However, the romantic literature of the nineteenth century fascinated many of them; she continued, "I...read Mr. M. M. Folsom's poetry "Vivian Sastane" It is very good...."⁷³ The women were particularly fond of Mrs. Letitia Hemans' works while the men preferred to read the Atlanta Constitution.

70 "Inventory-Sales, 1811-1812," 98-100.

71 "Inventory-Appraisals, 1812-1816," 52-53.

72 "Journal YY," 367-394.

73 MS. letter, Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., to Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., Feb. 4, 1886, in private possession.

The community produced several physicians who, in turn, cared for the physical condition of the citizens. The second settler in the village, according to tradition, was Dr. Augustus D. Statham. He was succeeded in the medical profession by Dr. Augustus Statham Quinn and Dr. John Haynes Walton. In the latter years of the nineteenth century Dr. Walton's son, Robert, practiced in the area. Dr. Robert McNeil cared for the Danburgers in the opening decades of the twentieth century. These men were general practitioners; for things like dental work, the citizens were usually forced to go to Washington, or to Augusta. "I am sorry you have been deprived the use of your place so long," wrote Dr. W. W. Hill of Washington, in 1896.⁷⁴

Thus the citizens worked and lived comfortably but without ostentation for 141 years, a happy and industrious people who took pride and found pleasure in the simple things of a rural life.

⁷⁴ MS. letter, Dr. W. W. Hill, Washington, Georgia, to Mrs. Walter Sutton, Danburg, Ga., Oct. 16, 1896, in private possession.

CHAPTER VI

WAR AND POLITICS

The British invasion of Georgia in late 1778 forced the early settlers in the community to choose definite sides in the ensuing struggle. Most of the settlers in the area were Rebels, undoubtedly, because of their democratic background but, prior to this time, they had probably been more concerned with the every-day activities of a frontier life than with the comparatively remote struggle between the colonists and Great Britain. In 1778 and early 1779 the British seized Savannah and Augusta; by 1780 only Wilkes County and the region around Midway on the coast were yet independent of British power. The war degenerated into a vicious guerrilla campaign. Many of the participants were interested in plunder rather than in establishing any particular sort of governmental authority. Citizens were waylaid and murdered in bed; men, women and children were alike slaughtered. The leader of the Wilkes fighters was Elijah Clarke; tradition has made him a veritable giant among men and he apparently saved the country from the British almost single-handedly. The major engagement in this region was the battle at Kettle Creek in early 1779. Though a Patriot victory, it was not a decisive engagement and the struggle

THEORY

The theory of the present study is based on the assumption that the social structure of a community is a function of the cultural values of its members. The cultural values of a community are the shared beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors that guide the actions of its members. These values are shaped by a variety of factors, including history, geography, and social organization. The social structure of a community is the pattern of relationships between its members, which is determined by the cultural values that guide their interactions. The theory of the present study is that the social structure of a community is a function of the cultural values of its members, and that these values are shaped by a variety of factors, including history, geography, and social organization.

continued in Wilkes to 1780.¹

John D. Heard said in 1908 that"

Our grand-mother, Betsey Lane Heard... used to tell us Revolutionary war stories about these old mills. How the Americans had possession most of the time and occasionally the 'Tories'...would raid the old mill with superior numbers and capture the place, and on one occasion, when the Tories surprised two Americans, who had the mills in charge. The Americans seeing they were overpowered, ran up stairs and hid themselves in the bolting chest, but the Tories pursued them to their hiding place and fired musket balls through the bolting chest to kill them, and one whose name was 'Lackey' made his escape by jumping out of an upper story window and made a track in a great boulder of solid rock to be seen before the heavy rains in the last few years submerged in sand the strange freak. 'Maje, Lane' can testify to the truthfulness of the form of this track in the rock. When the present mill [1908] was built about fifty-five years ago, this old bolting chest was sawn into and used as a grain bin. We remember seeing the old bullet holes in this part of the bolting chest. The distinguished Edward R. Anderson owned this mill for many years before his death in 1857.²

Mrs. Eliza Bowen noted that"

A few years ago an interesting article in regard to the Kettle Creek battle field was published in the Washington Chronicle. I think it was probably written by Gen. Graves. In it a very entertaining revolutionary story is told, which I have heard from other sources. The scene was at Anderson's Mills on Fishing Creek in the eastern part of the county. It seems that six American soldiers went in to get meal for their comrades. I think while so engaged, some Tories came up and killed three. The other three saved themselves by jumping out of the window, one of them holding a bag of bullets, which was a very valuable possession. In the freshet of 1840 - the Harrison freshet - Fishing Creek rose and washed from their graves the bones of the three dead soldiers.³

¹ Coulter, Georgia, 139-140.

² Washington, [Georgia] Reporter, Jan. 16, 1908, p m9.

³ Bowen, Story, 18-19.

Among the local patriots in the community were Jacob McLendon and Richard Aycock.⁴

As the British occupied successive portions of the settled area in Georgia, the Revolutionary government was forced to retreat further into the interior. In early 1780 the seat of the government was moved to Heard's Fort in the area near Fishing Creek in Wilkes County.⁵ There was a Fort Heard at the site where the town of Washington developed later but this fortification was located "About two hundred yards east of the mills, on quite a prominent hill...."⁶ Today, a marker erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution stands on the Washington-Danburg road, commemorating this former capital of Georgia. Here Stephen Heard, President of the Executive Council, took control of the state government for a short time.⁷ The first court held in Wilkes County met in 1779 at the home of Jacob McLendon on August 25.⁸ This court was apparently constituted to try Tories and on that day it recommended that twenty six persons be arrested and tried for assisting British troops and avowed

⁴ Otis Ashmore, "Wilkes Co., Its Place in Georgia History," in Georgia Historical Quarterly, I (1917), 63.

⁵ Coulter, Georgia, 158-159.

⁶ Washington [Georgia] Reporter, Jan. 16, 1908, p 9.

⁷ Coulter, Georgia, 159.

⁸ Davidson, Wilkes, II, 2.

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The second part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The third part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The fourth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The fifth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The sixth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The seventh part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The eighth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The ninth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The tenth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself.

enemies of the colonial cause.⁹

Politics excited all Georgians during ante-bellum days for the issues of states-rights, nullification and secession dominated the national and state political stages during that period. Danburgers became particularly interested in state politics when Edward R. Anderson was a member of the state legislature between 1847 and 1856. He held office in a period when men were ardent supporters of two separate and distinct parties, the Whigs and the Democrats. Anderson's voting record indicates that he sympathized with the Georgia Whigs. In 1847 a bill was introduced which authorized the completion of the Western and Atlantic Railroad. Two amendments were proposed; one made completion of the line contingent on Tennessee's construction of a bridge across the Tennessee River and a railroad above Chattanooga; the other made completion of the line dependent on Tennessee's granting to Georgia the enjoyment of that part of the road running through the former state. Anderson saw the advantage to be gained from such a rail line and, fearful of delays, he voted against both amendments.¹⁰ During the late 1840's a switch occurred in Georgia politics; the Whigs became the conservative, pro-Union party and the Democrats adopted a radical, states-rights platform.

⁹ Bowen, Wilkes, 22-23.

¹⁰ Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, 1847-1848. (Milledgeville, 1848), 243-245. Hereafter cited: Journal of the House.

As a conservative Anderson voted in 1847 against allowing the people to elect the judges of the superior courts, a measure designed to restrain the power of the masses.¹¹ He looked with disfavor on any measure that smacked of secession. A convention of radical Southerners assembled in Nashville, Tennessee to represent their states in a convention designed to formulate some program of joint action for those who were unwilling to accept the Compromise of 1850 and inclined to advocate secession as the remedy to the situation. Anderson voted in the session of 1851-1852 to postpone a decision to compensate the Georgia delegation, hoping to dampen the ardour of the members of that group.¹² In the session of 1855-1856 he voted against sending a harsh reply to Vermont's condemnation of the stand taken by the South with regard to the difficulties in Kansas.¹³ Nevertheless, he ardently believed in the slave system as an economic structure rather than a political issue, for he voted to repeal that bill passed by an earlier legislature which forbade the importation of slaves.¹⁴ Himself a planter, he saw the dangers in

11 Journal of the House, 1847-1848. pp 328-329.

12 Ibid., 1851-1852, pp 261.

13 Ibid., 1855-1856. pp 358-364.

14 Ibid., 1851-1852, p 869.

a developing industrial economy and in the session of 1855-1856 he voted against an act which attempted to repeal the regulation concerning hours of labor in cotton and woolen mills and other manufactories.¹⁵

Men of Anderson's mould lost control of affairs in the early days of 1861 and the state was taken out of the Union and plunged into a disastrous war which scarred her for nearly one hundred years, There was no actual invasion of Danburg but the community sent its contribution of men to the battle fields and those who remained at home suffered shortages of food and manufactures. Among those who went to the fronts were William R. Kendall, Drewry J. Aycock, John L. Anderson, George W. Booker, Zack W. Anderson, Thomas H. Psalmons, John, Elijah and Davis Pullen, John E. Shumate and Timothy, Leonard and Ezra Wheatley.¹⁶ What they thought of the war is not known, but the women of the community expressed themselves clearly. Harriet Danforth wrote S. K. Wynn in 1864 that "It seems... that Sherman will be compelled to make a move in some direction or other, before long. When he does I hope he will find you well prepared to repulse him."¹⁷

¹⁵ Ibid., 1855-1856, p. 276.

¹⁶ Washington [Georgia] Gazette, July 27, 1887, p 7.

¹⁷ MS. letter, Harriet Danforth, Danburg, Georgia, to S. K. Wynn, near Atlanta, Georgia, 1864, in private possession.

Sherman was not repulsed; he cut through Georgia and the whole Confederacy began to collapse.

Sherman cut rail communications as he moved across Georgia. The collapsing Confederacy was forced to erect a pontoon bridge across the Savannah at Lisbon so that troops could be moved through this area from the railroad connections at Abbeville, South Carolina.¹⁸ Across this bridge and down the road through Danburg to Washington came Jefferson Davis in his flight southward; he was proceeded by Mrs. Davis, who spent a night at the Chennault house as she passed through the community.¹⁹ Davis hurried directly to Washington where he held his last cabinet meeting.

Davis had dispatched southward before him to comparative safety gold belonging to the Confederate government and several hundred thousand dollars of gold belonging to certain banks in Richmond, Virginia. This gold, guarded by a detachment of Confederate naval cadets, was thaken from Charlotte, North Carolina to Augusta, Georgia and then returned to Abbeville, South Carolina, passing through Washington, Georgia on each transit. At Abbeville, the Confederate

¹⁸ Newsclipping, from News Reporter, Washington, Ga., undated, in private possession.

¹⁹ Eliza F. Andrews, The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl (New York, 1908), 352-353. Hereafter cited: Andrews, War-Time Journal.

president assumed control of the specie and transported it to Washington, once more, in his baggage train. The government gold was disbursed in Washington before the falling regime continued its southward flight. The gold of the Richmond banks was delivered into the hands of bank representatives after being temporarily deposited in a bank in Washington. These representatives secured federal passes after Davis had departed to the south which were designed to carry them through United States lines. They reloaded the gold on wagons and proceeded under the protection of a federal officer to take the gold through Danburg to the railroad at Abbeville where it was to be loaded on a train and taken back to Richmond. Word spread throughout the area that this gold was part of the specie belonging to the Confederacy. There were many unpaid Confederate veterans in the county who feared that this money would never reach Richmond, believing that Federal troops would confiscate it. While the wagons were camped on their first night out of Washington in the vicinity of the Chennault home, they attacked it and much of the gold was stolen. It is also said that a number of Yankee brigands joined in the attack. Part of the gold was returned but most disappeared forever.²⁰

²⁰ L. L. Knight, Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials and Legends (Atlanta, 1914), I, 215-216. Hereafter cited: Knight, Landmarks. Otis Ashmore, "The Story of the Virginai Bank _____ in Georgia Historical Quarterly, _____ 171. For the story of the gold of the Confederate government see A. J. Hanna's Flight into Oblivion (Richmond, 1938).

The story was circulated by the newly freed Negroes that the Chennaults had a great deal of the gold hidden at their home. Federal troops were sent there to ferret it out and deposit it with the commanding officer at Washington. It is said that old Dionysius Chennault, his brother and his nephew were strung up by their thumbs and Mrs. Chennault was forced to strip in the presence of Negro women to her last under-garment.²¹ They, of course, had none of the booty but the soldiers took valuables belonging to the Chennaults to placate their disappointment at not finding any gold.

There was a small restaurant at Danburg near the store of John L. Anderson. A day or two after the robbery a stranger came into the restaurant and paid for a meal with unused specie. Since new money was scarce, this aroused suspicion; word was sent to Washington and a squad of men arrested the man who, afterwards, gave some evidence as to where part of the loot was hidden.²²

Meanwhile, on the morning after the robbery Bob, John and Joe Matthews, sons of Fenton Matthews, were sent to the pasture to look for cows. They saw where horsemen had passed through the meadow, leaving imprints on the grass

²¹ Andrews, War-time Journal, 364.

²² MS. reminiscence of Walter L. Sutton, in private possession.

after the dew had fallen. Along the trail were broken tops of young pines, apparently formed as markers. They followed the trail and found several thousand dollars hidden in a hollow stump. They reported this to their father and he insisted that they inform the authorities. Examination of the stump disclosed that the boys had removed only part of the gold and additional money was removed from the hiding place. It is said that around \$75,000 was found hidden in the bureau of a room at the hotel run by Dr. John H. Walton's wife.²³

After the war the whites of Georgia united under the Democratic banner and eventually drove the Radicals from the state government. Thereafter, a split developed in the Democratic Party between the conservative Bourbons and the comparatively radical dissenters who opposed the pro-business policies of the other faction. A climax in the struggle between these two factions came in 1886 when Augustus O. Bacon decided to run for the governor's office against the Bourbon's darling, John B. Gordon. This contest split the community and split families within the community, too. A newspaper noted that "It was Mr. Walter L. Sutton, and not his father, the merchant, of Danburg...who took the vote so flattering to General Gordon in that place. The old gentleman is for Bacon, but his son is for the hero of

²³ MS. reminiscences of Walter L. Sutton, in private possession.

Seven Pines."24 Harriet Wynn informed Walter Sutton that "Your father didn't tarry but a few moments. Papa read him of Bacon's defeat, and Mr. Talley laughed so I guess he didn't care to be with a Gordon Crowd."25

After the election political activity died down, but it flared up violently when the struggle between Populists and Democrats began in the early 1890's. Dissatisfied with the plight of the farmer, many people throughout the nation began to form societies and organizations shortly after the Civil War. In 1876 a Granger's Society was formed in the Danburg community.26 By the 1890's most of the dissatisfied element had become members of the Populist Party. In 1892 the Populists ran W. L. Peek against W. J. Northen for governor; in 1894 they ran J. K. Hines against W. Y. Arkinson. Both campaigns were conducted in a spirited manner in the community. The Democrats in the 178th and 179th Militia Districts organized in 1892 the "Danburg Democratic Club," electing as chairman John A. Sutton who had returned to the Democratic fold from his radical wanderings and designating Walter L. Sutton secretary. They attacked the Populist

24 MS. newsclipping, undated and from unidentifiable source, in private possession.

25 MS. letter, Harriet Wynn, Danburg, Ga., to Walter L. Sutton, Danburg, Ga., June 20, 1886, in private possession.

26 "Danburg Baptist," I, 65.

Party as a movement which would disrupt the Democratic Party and perpetuate the Republican Party in power at Washington and extend its baneful influence in Georgia affairs. They resolved to "form ourselves into a more thorough organization for the purpose of effectively combating the evils which confront us" and they recommended that "all Democrats as far as may be consistent with their best judgement" support the nominees of the party.²⁷

The local Democrats were addressed by B. S. Irvin, M. P. Reese, John P. Shannon, Judge Lawson, Colonels Burnett and Tutt and the colored Democracy heard the Reverend Thomas Gadsden, a local Negro preacher, at various barbecues and rallies.²⁸ Not all Danburgers were good Democrats, however. Dr. John H. Walton and Mr. James W. Bellows preferred the Populist fold.²⁹ During the enthusiasm of the campaigns, it is said that a member of one of the factions became over-enthusiastic and set the fire which mysteriously broke out in 1894 and consumed the business section at the cross-roads.³⁰ The Democrats feared that the Populists would cut the telephone line to Washington and various Democrats patrolled the line during

²⁷ Washington [Georgia] Chronicle, June 20, 1892, p 3.

²⁸ Ibid., Aug. 29, 1892, p 2.

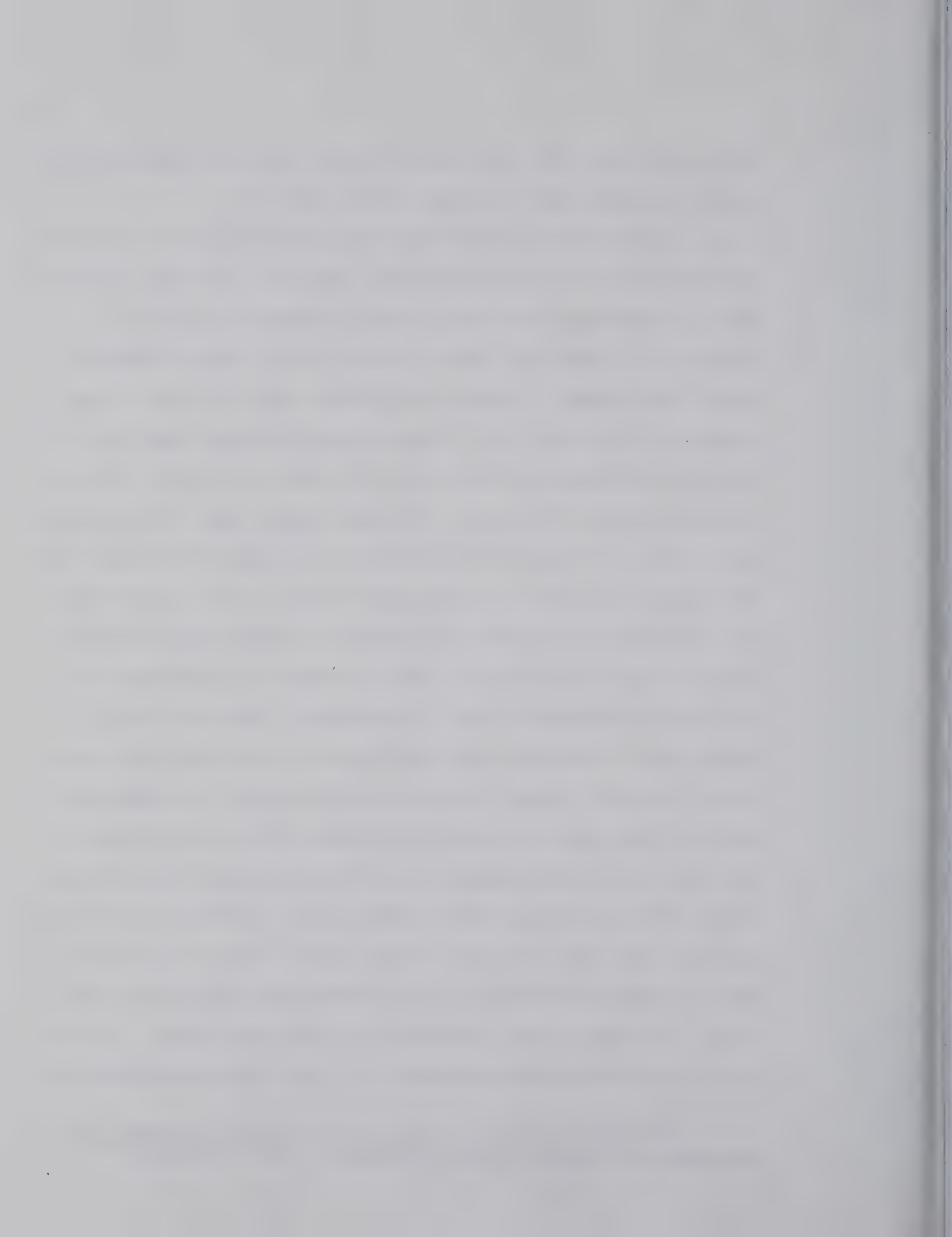
²⁹ Ibid., Sept. 26, 1892, p 3.

³⁰ 'Danburg Baptist," III, 8.

the tense days. By the late 90's the storm was over and the people settled down to other activities.

In the years around 1900 many citizens in the community moved into the village proper. Zack W. Anderson, Alexander S. Anderson, Mrs. Fannie Heard Anderson, Walter L. Sutton, B. F. Walton, John D. Bunch, S. A. Wynn, Thomas V. Heard, and Robert I. Walton had homes there by 1904. The community felt that the village should be organized into a distinct political unit and in 1904 the Legislature incorporated the town of Danburg. The act stated that "the incorporate limits... shall extend one mile in every direction from the front door of A. S. Anderson's store," and it provided that the town should "be officered by a mayor and three members of the city council." The Legislature provided that an election should be held in September, 1904 and each second year thereafter for the mayor's office and the three council seats. These officers were to serve two years each and have the power to cause the roads, streets and lanes of the said town to be worked in said town by residents therein subject to road duty, and to levy such a road tax as they may deem for the best interest of the town." It was provided that the mayor and council would "make any and all by-laws, rules and regulations..necessary for the government...and to punish by fine and imprisonment" for the violation thereof.³¹

³¹ Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia. 1904. (Atlanta, 1904), 455-456.



Thus the town was constituted and the 272 citizens, proud of their newly created municipality, settled down in the years remaining before the first World War to enjoy life in the thriving village. 32

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A. MANUSCRIPTS

1. Official Papers and Reports:

"Index to Land Grants of Wilkes County, 1784-1839." I-II.

These two volumes name the grantees, give the acreage of the grant, the year of the grant and the entries often contain the name of the particular creek or river on which the land bordered. The indexes are located in the Ordinary's office of the Wilkes County Court House in Washington, Ga.

"Index to Wilkes County Deeds." II.

This volume is located in the Clerk of Court's office in the Wilkes County Court House at Washington, Georgia. It was used to calculate the acreage owned by Samuel Danforth, for it indicates the acreage concerned in the various realty transactions.

"Inventory & Appraisments, 1794-1798."

"Inventory LL, 1794-1806."

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"Inventory MM, 1807-1810."

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"Appraisals & Sales, 1848-1853."

"Journal YY, 1853-1860."

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"Inventory & Sales, 1869-1924."

These works contain the inventories of estates left by various people residing in the Danburg community. They also contain the returns from sales of the property left by those people. Several of these documents contain the original indexes made by the various recorders. All of the records are located in the Ordinary's office in the Wilkes County Court House, Washington, Georgia.

"Wilkes County Tax Digest, 1847."

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"Wilkes County Tax Digest, 1913."

These tax digests are found in the basement vault of the Wilkes County Court House and are under the authority of the Tax Receiver's office. They were invaluable in preparing this thesis for they contain such entries as the amount of land owned by each tax payer, the number of slaves each planter owned and the value of his livestock, land, tools and equipment, household furniture and the amount of money, merchandise and solvent notes that he held at a particular time.

"Will Book, 1792-1801."

"Will Book, 1812-1816."

"Will Book, 1819-1836."

"Will Book, 1837-1877."

These volumes are located in the Ordinary's office of the Wilkes County Court House. They were less valuable in compiling data for this thesis than the inventory books and tax digests but they contain some invaluable information.

"Eighth Census of the United States (1860); Wilkes County, Georgia, Agriculture."

"Ninth Census of the United States (1870); Wilkes County, Georgia, Agriculture."

"Tenth Census of the United States (1880); Wilkes County, Georgia, Agriculture."

"Tenth Census of the United States (1880); Wilkes County, Georgia, Manufactures."

Microfilms of these census reports, the original county schedules, are in the University of Georgia library. They were extremely useful in preparing this paper for they contain entries concerning the amount of labor employed by various citizens of the Danburg community, the wages paid that labor, the amount and quality of the land owned, the value of that land, the various types of livestock raised on particular farms, the products produced, the value of those products and other agricultural particulars. The report on manufactures contains a detailed account of those mills in operation in the county in 1880.

2. Private Correspondence

The Danforth Family Papers: In the possession of Clement E. Sutton, Sr., of Washington, Georgia, Misses Nell and Jessie Sutton, Danburg, Georgia, and Mrs. J. E. Saggus, Alexandria, Louisiana. These are miscellaneous papers, including about thirty letters. The letters were written between 1824 and 1865 among Samuel Danforth, his wife Harriet Brown Danforth, their son Charles Reab Danforth, their daughter Emma Danforth Wynn and their son-in-law Samuel K. Wynn.

The Sutton Family Papers: In the possession of Clement K. Sutton, Sr. of Washington, Georgia, Misses Nell and Jessie Sutton, Danburg, Georgia and Mrs. J.E. Saggus, Alexandria, Louisiana. There are miscellaneous papers and about 200 letters in this collection. The letters were written in the period 1878 to 1886 among John A. Sutton, his wife Martha Anderson Sutton, their son Walter L. Sutton and their daughter-in-law Harriet Louise Wynn.

3. Business Papers:

"Emma D. Wynn House Book, 1889."

This book contains a detailed account of the expenses incurred in building the S. K. Wynn home in 1889. It is in the possession of Mrs. J. E. Saggus, Alexandria, Louisiana.

"Heard & Sutton Ledger, 1904."

This ledger consists of the accounts of various citizens in the community with the firm of Heard & Sutton, dealers in general merchandise; each account is made up of the daily purchases and payments of the various individuals. It is in the possession of Misses Nell and Jessie Sutton, Danburg, Georgia.

"Records of the Danburg Baptist Church, 1835-1914." I-III.

These records consist of the minutes of the monthly conferences held by the local Baptist Church. They are in the possession of the deacons of that church. They give a fairly complete account of the church's activity and organization and they afford an insight into the character of the people during the years between 1835 and 1914.

"W. L. Sutton Gin Book, 1908-1912."

This book is in the possession of Misses Nell and Jessie Sutton, Danburg, Georgia. It contains entries for each bale of cotton ginned during the period with the weight of each bale recorded.

"W. L. Sutton Miscellaneous Account Book, 1885-1907."

This book is in the possession of Misses Nell and Jessie Sutton of Danburg, Georgia. It contains scattered entries made when Mr. Sutton was a merchant and entries regarding the salaries paid teachers when Mr. Sutton was a trustee of the local school.

B. NEWSPAPERS

Christian Index, The (Washington, Georgia). 1835-1841.

This newspaper was published in Washington between September, 1835 and January, 1841. It is principally concerned with affairs of the Baptist denomination but it occasionally included some material pertinent to other matters. A complete file of these years is available at the library of Mercer University, Macon, Georgia in the original volumes and on microfilm.



News Reporter, The (Washington, Georgia). 1895-1910.

This newspaper was established at Washington in 1895 and is published there today. Occasionally, issues of it were entitled The Reporter. A nearly complete file is in the Ordinary's office at the Wilkes County Court House in Washington, Georgia. Copies published between 1895 and 1910 were used in preparing this paper.

Washington [Georgia] Chronicle, The. 1888-1905.

This paper was published between 1885 and 1905 in Washington. A fairly complete file of the period after 1888 is available in the Ordinary's office of the Wilkes County Court House in Washington.

Washington [Georgia] Gazette, The. 1869, 1875, 1885.

This newspaper was published in Washington between 1866 and 1905. A collection of about ten copies published in the years 1869, 1875, and 1885 are in the library of the University of Georgia; these were helpful in preparing the thesis.

Washington [Georgia] News, The. 1825-1835.

Published between 1816 and 1844, a small file for the period between 1825 and 1835 is in the library of the University of Georgia. These copies were useful in preparing the paper for they contained several entries concerning social condition in the area.

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